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Competing Voices: Negotiating Power and Place in Mixed-Income Housing Development

Kimberlee S. Guenther

Loyola University Chicago, kimberlee.guenther@gmail.com

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

COMPETING VOICES:
NEGOTIATING POWER AND PLACE IN
MIXED-INCOME HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN SOCIOLOGY

BY

KIMBERLEE S. GUENTHER

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The first time I met with my dissertation director, Dr. Phil Nyden, in 2008, he asked me how I felt about going to Australia. I laughed and said I felt good about it. I had left a job I loved at The Field Museum to attend Loyola, and while I was certain it was the right move and thought I had it all figured out, my graduate career took me to unexpected places. Through all of the joys, challenges, and uncertainties, I have been fortunate to have the support of so many amazing people.

I owe a tremendous amount to The Graduate School, which supported me in several ways during my tenure at Loyola. supported me for five years with the Dean's Fellowship. I appreciate that the university saw the value in funding graduate work that is connected to the public good, and am proud that I was the first recipient of the award. The Graduate School also contributed funds for *Residents' Voices*, along with the Center for Urban Research and Learning at Loyola, the University of Western Sydney, and the Australian Research Council. All of this meant that the project I intended to do on the South Side of Chicago went international, which expanded my thinking in ways I could not have imagined. It was an incredible research experience that I was lucky to have.

My committee members, Dr. Nyden, Dr. Michael Darcy, Dr. Christine George, and Dr. Marilyn Krogh, each contributed to my intellectual development in unique ways. I took their courses and worked on research projects with them, gradually finding my own voice in the process. I cannot accurately describe the relief I felt when they told me

that they thought this dissertation contained original ideas and made a real contribution to the literature. In addition to Dr. Darcy, I had the pleasure of working with other Australian colleagues on *Residents' Voices*. Dr. Dallas Rogers, Dr. Kathy Arthurson, and my “Australian counterpart” Lauren Kenworthy were great sources of knowledge, and I enjoyed giving each one my public housing tour when they visited Chicago. It wasn’t always easy trying to maintain a cross-national project, but I like to think we pulled it off.

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ABSTRACT

Public housing internationally is undergoing a transformation due to the implementation of mixed-income policies. Based on two years of research in Chicago and Sydney, this project aimed to understand how resident leaders experience this transformation and the strategies they used to contribute to placemaking in new communities. The research also investigated new methods of conducting community-based, participatory research that emphasized resident perspectives and inquiry. Findings show that resident leaders utilize negative narratives about public housing to make claims to new neighborhoods. The research also revealed that highly stigmatized, but demolished places continue to function in people's lives through the process of territorial embodiment. Residents who experience territorial embodiment are unable to transcend the stigma associated with public housing and access full citizenship rights. Resident leaders attempt to negotiate these new circumstances, but lack the necessary power and relationships with new stakeholders to challenge the way mixed-income policies are being implemented.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The first time I saw the construction of a mixed-income housing development, it was a shock. It was the Sunday after Thanksgiving in 2000, and I was driving north down Halsted Street to see a friend who lived in Lincoln Park. As I passed Cabrini-Green, I noticed a series of new, three- or four-story red brick buildings, and wondered why anyone would build new condos in the shadow of such notorious public housing. Little did I know that the buildings I observed were not a developer's gamble, but the first stages of the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation, an ambitious plan to remake public housing and its residents through public-private partnerships and the introduction of market rate residents into the community. At the time, I was conducting research on a community theatre for my Master's degree, and as much as I loved Chicago's urban landscape, I swore I would never study urban poverty or public housing. Yet seeing those new buildings made a tremendous impression on me. When I started conducting research and implementing community building art programs in a mixed-income development on the South Side in 2006, I remembered that first glimpse of those condos vividly, as I do now, fifteen years later.

Project Overview

This is a study of public housing redevelopment in Chicago and Sydney, as experienced by resident leaders. Public housing communities internationally are being

replaced by mixed-income housing through policies that remake urban places by utilizing public-private partnerships. Resident leaders, who represent their neighbors in the redevelopment process and negotiations for new spaces, experience this transition from a unique vantage point. As members of working groups that plan new communities, leaders have greater access to and influence over the people implementing mixed-income policies than average residents. They work to achieve the balance between championing the cause of traditional public housing preservation and advocating for a place for low-income residents in new developments. At the same time leaders navigate these challenging circumstances, once-powerful representation structures are gradually being dismantled, threatening their power and stature in the community. Working with leaders as collaborators, rather than simply as research subjects, I explored issues and concerns that they raised about redevelopment, in addition to examining the changing roles that they occupied as new residents and stakeholders were introduced into their communities.

The following discussion is predicated on the understanding that one's social and economic position is tied to the ability and authority to claim space. Different stakeholders in mixed-income communities possess varying degrees of economic, cultural, and social capital, and "if these qualities act as mediating structures that position people in everyday experiences with their neighbors as well as public and private entities that insert themselves into neighborhood affairs," then power differentials will emerge (DeFilippis and Fraser 2010:145). These differentials surface as the stakeholders negotiate placemaking, community building and participation, and other interactions

between residents and institutional representatives. They also bear on residents' claims to space in their new communities and the level of citizenship they are granted.

Working with resident leaders in redeveloping neighborhoods in Chicago and Sydney has enabled me to consider how similar and commonly-used policies—those addressing concentrated poverty through mixed-income development utilizing public-private partnerships—are conceived and implemented in different contexts. The two cities are taking different approaches to density, social services, employment requirements, and drug testing, and have vastly different historical relationships between race and class. Yet, “the stated rationale and aims of these policies and programs, and the premises on which they are designed [are] almost indistinguishable” (Darcy 2010:2).

Research Questions

This research aims to answer three questions that are broadly about how public housing as both a place and a concept inform that work that resident leaders undertake before and during mixed-income redevelopment. To begin, how does place function in resident leaders' lives and advocacy work during redevelopment processes? Next, how do leaders construct their identities and negotiate power dynamics during community transformation? Finally, how do residents participate in research and knowledge production, and how is that participation framed by repeated interactions with academics? Each of these questions is centered on public housing residents' status as community members and citizens and leaders' ability to harness the rhetoric of “rights” to challenge power relations in the neoliberal context.

Individuals are often associated with the places they reside, and it has been established that the link is particularly strong for residents of highly stigmatized communities (Wacquant 2008). My findings suggest that, for public housing residents, place-related stigma does not end when notorious buildings are demolished. Instead, negative narratives are disassociated from the built environment, but continue to conceptually function in people's lives through a process I call territorial embodiment. These stereotypes, which follow public housing residents into identically geographically located mixed-income communities, challenge our understandings of place and support the notion that mixed-income strategies are designed to reclaim urban spaces for capital accumulation rather than lift low-income families out of poverty.

Residents' Voices Research Project

The data collection for this dissertation took place within the context of a broader community-based participatory research (CBPR) project: *Residents' Voices: Advantage, Disadvantage, Community and Place*¹. The project was a cross-national collaboration between Loyola University Chicago and the University of Western Sydney. The overarching goals of *Residents' Voices* were to establish a cross-national network of public/social/affordable housing residents, and to reframe contemporary debates about concentrated poverty by incorporating resident-produced knowledge into the discussion. Through this research, links were established with residents in both cities and small, resident-informed research projects were conducted.

¹ *Residents' Voices* research was supported by funding from the Australian Research Council, The Graduate School and the Center for Urban Research and Learning at Loyola University Chicago, and the University of Western Sydney.

To investigate how residents experience and respond to the power dynamics inherent in the public housing redevelopment process, other members of the research team and I utilized a number of methods that are discussed at length in Chapter Two. Because the research was community-driven and participatory, the overall study was designed to incorporate resident interests and concerns, and to allow opportunity for the research team to engage participants in a variety of ways beyond data collection. I used a combination of participant observation and semi-structured interviews with resident leaders, but maintained a commitment to the principles of *Residents' Voices*, which meant privileging and respecting participants' limits. At times this meant missing relevant information or not conducting an interview with a reluctant leader whose perspective would have been valuable to my research. As a general rule, I believe this is a responsible and responsive way to conduct research, as the co-creation of certain concepts with residents ensures its utility in the community.

Reimagining Public Housing Through Private Partnerships

Mixed-income housing policies have been touted as a solution to urban poverty through the deconcentration of low-income households and introduction of higher income, higher status residents into targeted communities. The process involves public housing authorities obtaining federal grant dollars that are paired with investment by private developers. Housing authorities shift financial and managerial responsibilities for public housing to private developers, who gain access to previously public land and finance construction through the sale of market rate units to private homeowners. In many, if not most cases, existing public housing communities are completely demolished,

residents relocated, and an entirely new community is built in its place. Higher income renters and homeowners, and sometimes “affordable” renters, join public housing residents to create a tenure mix that usually results in a net loss of public housing units. In some cases, returning residents are required to meet strict criteria, including employment, good standing with utility and other bills, and drug testing, in order to move into new units.

The desired outcomes of such policies are ostensibly to ameliorate concentrated poverty and increase opportunity for low-income families to access services and social networks that would help them become self-sufficient (Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber 2007). Rather than erasing social cleavages, however, mixed-income developments have succeeded primarily in creating new places and contributing to spatial reorganization in urban areas (DeFilippis and Fraser 2010). The emphasis of mixed-income policies is the concentration of poverty, not necessarily poverty itself. This contributes to tensions between public housing residents, who view redevelopment as a land grab, and other stakeholders, many of whom stand to gain financially from their participation or support. As previously disinvested neighborhoods are commodified during this process, and private firms and individuals with market interests enter the fray, contestation arises between longtime residents who have use value for existing spaces, and newcomers and investors who are concerned with exchange value. These exchanges are classed, racialized, and informed by existing power dynamics between stakeholders.

Rationale for Mixed-Income Housing

Since HOPE VI² legislation was passed in 1992, mixed-income housing has become the dominant form of public housing delivery in the United States and the great hope for making cities more livable, equitable places. The rationale for using mixed-income housing to ameliorate concentrated poverty rests largely on the qualities and amenities higher-income residents can bring to poverty-stricken neighborhoods (Joseph et al. 2007). The introduction of higher income residents into a neighborhood is expected to bring demands of better schools, more retail options, and the opportunity for lower-income residents to take advantage of higher quality goods and services (Joseph et al. 2007; Popkin et al. 2004; Goetz 2003). In the US, mixed-income housing is also an attempt to undo years of hostility, racial segregation and discrimination in housing (Bennett et al. 2006).

In addition to changes to the physical landscape and availability of services, higher income residents are also expected to bring a new social order to the sites. Social and behavioral goals associated with mixed-income housing include social network expansion, behavioral modeling, and social control (Joseph 2006). The policy incorporates the philosophy of New Urbanism, which broadly aims to advance three social goals: community, social equity, and the notion of the common good (Talen 2002). To New Urbanists, “community” is a collective identity characterized by strong civic

² “Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere,” a program instituted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in response to a report by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. Between 1993 and 2010, HUD awarded \$6,713,048,912 in planning, revitalization, and other grants to transform distressed public housing projects into mixed-income communities. It has since been replaced by the Choice Neighborhoods program.

bonds, rather than close interpersonal relationships, which has implications for social networks within mixed-income communities (Talen 2002).

Two decades after HOPE VI was first launched, questions have arisen about mixed-income housing's effectiveness in helping the most vulnerable residents, and how to address barriers to self-sufficiency that cannot be overcome by moving into a new apartment. In short, the problem with mixed-income housing is that as uniformly positive as it sounds, the implementation of these policies is rarely cut and dry, and the people facing the most uncertainty are those the policies were ostensibly designed to help (DeFilippis and Fraser 2010). The present research is not focused on the value of mixed-income housing policies as a solution to urban poverty, nor on specific outcomes that residents achieve. Existing literature on mixed-income housing has provided information on outcomes for both residents and redeveloped communities, but has not offered much in the way of how residents navigate relocation and create spaces of resistance. Nevertheless, an overview of the rationale behind these policies is necessary because power is exercised by other stakeholders in this space, where residents' goals and needs are largely determined for them, rather than with them.

Feasibility of Mixed-Income Rationale

It is worth pausing to consider these rationales and how feasible they have ever been. Expanding low-income residents' social networks is a reasonable goal, considering how advantageous it is to be well-connected when on the job market. The problem with this rationale is that it assumes that residents will quickly form relationships with neighbors, and that when jobs become available, they will have the appropriate skills to

fill the positions. Limited education and poor job training experiences, however, remain significant hurdles to success, and it is likely that as a result, many public housing residents would not be able to make use of employment connections with neighbors (Levy and Woolley 2007).

The presence of higher income residents is also expected to “elevate” the behavior of low income residents with respect to adherence to norms. Joseph highlights the proposal that “higher income residents will be more likely to take action to maintain social control in the community, benefiting residents of all income levels” (2006:214). Again, the suggestion is that residents need to be kept in line by people with better behavior patterns and a greater respect for norms. Heightened social control is the one rationale that has come to fruition, but while it may maintain order in mixed-income communities, it also produces resentment between tenure groups.

The final rationale for mixed-income housing as an antidote to poverty is behavioral role-modeling (Joseph 2006). The suggestion with behavioral role-modeling is that low income residents will model their behavior on that of higher-income residents with respect to employment, treatment of property, and adherence to norms in public space. Most of these rationales depend on relationships forming between low-income residents and their higher-income neighbors, but this has not been supported by research (Joseph 2006; Brophy and Smith 1997).

Outcomes for Mixed-Income Residents

Reviews of studies that consider resident outcomes conclude that residents who have been relocated from traditional public housing developments to mixed-income

communities or other neighborhoods using vouchers have experienced modest gains, but are not on the path to self-sufficiency (Chaskin and Joseph 2012; DeFilippis and Fraser 2010; Fraser and Nelson 2008; Levy and Woolley 2007). There is also the concern that the goal of improving lives gets lost in the push for urban economic growth. Rather than sounding the death knell for mixed-income redevelopment, academics and policymakers are looking for ways to salvage the strategy. Significant amounts of personnel time and financial resources have been poured into these policies. Fraser and Nelson suggest “comprehensive initiatives that deal with the community as a whole” and deeply and actively engage residents in participatory planning (2008:2136). Active engagement of residents is not a guaranteed solution to the problems that mixed-income developments have encountered, nor are participatory planning and revisioning necessarily equitable (Hopkins 2010). However, in this dissertation, I aim to identify ways that residents can gain a foothold in these negotiations.

The way residents experience and respond to power as they engage with housing authorities, developers, and researchers is the heart of this project. There is a growing body of literature about social and economic outcomes for both residents and neighborhoods that have undergone redevelopment, but little about how residents have been consulted about or contributed to the shape of these new communities. I contend that this is largely because more powerful stakeholders believe they know what is best for low-income residents, who need to be guided to self-sufficiency by higher income role models. Though perhaps a matter for another project, the contradictions in this plan must be acknowledged; the goal is for low income residents to become self-sufficient by

following a path determined in part by others and by relying on neighbors to make connections. Furthermore,

the empirical research on mixed-income redevelopment of distressed urban neighborhoods suggests that the majority of benefits have been realized by private-sector developers, local government, and other stakeholders who are in the position to benefit from place-based revitalization” and not the long-term, low-income former and current residents of these neighborhoods. (Fraser and Nelson 2008:2130)

What appears to be absent from the redevelopment planning process is the incorporation of local knowledge and experience that can only be gained by living in a community for a length of time. Injecting resident perspective into policy considerations is precisely what the project associated with this dissertation, *Residents’ Voices*, hoped to achieve.

Chicago Housing Authority

The Chicago Housing Authority was created in 1937 under the Illinois General Assembly’s Housing Authorities Act (Bennett et al. 2006). Initially, it was a progressive agency striving for new housing for the poor and racial integration in its developments, but by its second decade discussions over the site selection for public housing was becoming racially charged (Hunt 2009). Chicago’s City Council, together with some black politicians, was instrumental in ensuring that African Americans remained residentially segregated. In the late-1940s and throughout the 1950s, “powerful white ethnic leaders on the City Council rejected the CHA’s proposed sites for lands in white neighborhoods, refusing to tolerate a large black presence in their wards” (Venkatesh 2000:18). African American politicians, meanwhile, supported continued segregation so as not to divide the black constituency (Venkatesh 2000). New housing stock was built, but African Americans remained concentrated in the same neighborhoods they had

inhabited since the Great Migration. These early spatial decisions, combined with later financial and institutional decisions, would contribute to some of the most concentrated poverty seen in the United States.

Despite segregation, during its early years, residents described life under the Chicago Housing Authority as “paradise” (Fuerst 2003). A long period of decline began in the mid-1960s, following a change in CHA leadership and the need to house extremely low income families. With limited funds for maintenance and little political will to improve conditions, buildings deteriorated rapidly. At the same time this was occurring, residents filed a class-action lawsuit against CHA and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, alleging that the segregation of public housing in African American neighborhoods violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the residents, establishing scattered site housing in Chicago and a voucher program for residents to move to lower poverty neighborhoods. It did not immediately remedy the conditions in Chicago’s highrise public housing. This issue was addressed with the development of CHA’s Plan for Transformation in the late 1990s. Launched in 2000, the Plan mobilized both federal and private dollars through public-private partnerships to replace severely distressed public housing with mixed-income communities. Initially conceived as a ten year plan, the housing market crash significantly slowed development, and in 2013, a revised version, Plan Forward, was released.

Housing New South Wales

New South Wales first established a Housing Commission in 1942 in response to the high demand for housing following the Great Depression. The need was amplified by the lack of housing development during World War Two, leading to both inner city slum clearance development and the creation of broad acre estates (Hayward 2008). The majority of the units in Sydney were developed as whole estates on greenfield sites in the 1960s and 1970s. The original Housing Commission underwent two transformations—first into the Department of Housing in 1986, and then to HNSW in 2008. Older residents that I spoke to sometimes referred to HNSW as “Housing Commission,” using its pre-1986 name. In the 1990s, the process of “residualisation” began, in which reduced public investment intersected with changes in eligibility criteria that resulted in housing allocations for only the poorest families (Darcy 2010). This contributed to a significant decline in the quality of public housing in New South Wales, and set the stage for the implementation of a mixed-income housing policy.

During much of this study, responsibility for social housing was divided between two government bodies, the Department of Finance and Services, which managed the assets, and the Department of Family and Community Services, which was responsible for managing the tenants. This division of managerial responsibilities created challenges for residents in terms of agency responsiveness to complaints. Several tenants had experienced being referred back and forth between the departments, each stating that a problem was the other department’s responsibility. The two areas of HNSW have since remerged under the purview of the Department of Family and Community Services, and

it manages 110,000 units, 65,000 of which are in metropolitan Sydney (Darcy 2010).

Residents were previously offered tenancy for life, but in recent years, term limits have been introduced and the majority of new residents are either elderly or have complex mental health and/or substance abuse issues.

Differences in Urban and Policy Contexts

While the rhetoric and ideology is similar in the two cities, there are important differences to consider. The physical form of the new developments is the first point of departure, with the CHA aiming to decrease site density and HNSW to increase it. Tenure distribution also differs, with mixed-income developments in Chicago following the rule of thirds, with one third of units public housing, one third affordable rentals, and one third market rate for-sale units. Redeveloped communities in Sydney, meanwhile, become 70 percent market rate and 30 percent public housing. Furthermore, unlike Chicago (and the US broadly), Sydney presently has no alternative housing options, such as Housing Choice Vouchers, for residents whose estates are being redeveloped, though they are being discussed (Sydney Metropolitan Development Authority 2011). Instead, they must relocate to other social or community housing estates, or enter the private housing market with no subsidy. The US has a broader array of affordable housing options beyond traditional public housing and mixed-income communities.

During my first visit to Sydney in the summer of 2012, I was struck by the contrast between Housing New South Wales's social housing estates and what I remembered of the projects in Chicago. There were obvious differences in location and density, with the majority of the estates in Sydney being Radburn-style suburban

developments, but while the buildings in Chicago had been classified as “severely distressed” by the HUD, it was not readily apparent why the Australian estates had to be completely redeveloped, except to address the effects of concentrated poverty. Instead, it appeared that the estates could benefit from improved maintenance, better access to transportation, and increased employment opportunities for residents, only the first of which is guaranteed by building a mixed-income community. Simply deconcentrating poverty will not bring jobs, and even when it does, those residents who obtain employment will have to move out of public housing and exist precariously in the private housing market. As with Chicago, a cynic would suggest that there are other factors at work, including the desire to relinquish state responsibility for public housing.

Tenant Representation Structures

Important to this project is the fact that tenant representation structures in each city vary significantly, potentially impacting the way residents are prepared to organize resistance and the ability to communicate information and strategies to other tenants. The formal representation body of CHA residents, the Local Advisory Council – Central Advisory Council (LAC-CAC), was established by a “Memorandum of Accord” with the CHA in 1971 (Venkatesh 2000). Representatives are elected by residents, and have a formal relationship with the housing authority, though since the start of the Plan for Transformation, the LACs have lost some of their power and site specificity. In Sydney, Redfern-Waterloo is represented by REDWatch, which formed in 2004 to monitor and respond to state planning activities in the area. Within HNSW, the Social Housing Tenants Advisory Committee was launched in 2008, but there is no widespread, uniform

representation mechanism akin to the LAC-CAC. In both cities, residents are contending with powerful and nebulous institutions, and other stakeholders who may not share their vision for their communities.

Place and Community Identity

Mixed-income housing policies transform distressed and neglected communities in part by demolishing the existing built environment and replacing it with new structures. The significance of this strategy goes beyond the construction of new buildings, as both old and new residents are required to engage in placemaking efforts to establish a new community identity. According to Gieryn (2000), the “ground rules” that define “place” are as follows: location, material form, and meaningfulness. These three components must be present for a space to take on the quality of place. The specific geographic location can range in scale from an individual property to an entire municipality and beyond. The material form is the physical objects that make up the place, including the built environment and other features. Meaningfulness is the “investment [of] meaning and value” by people who utilize a space, and is central in transforming spaces into places (Gieryn 2000:465). Gieryn (2000) argues that analytically, they are best considered together, since each facet of a place is integral to its character. In mixed-income communities, the material form is fundamentally altered, and with it the meaningfulness assigned to it by residents. Returning public housing tenants and the leaders who represent them must negotiate with new stakeholders for a role in creating new community identities.

Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991) is the central theorization of how space is produced and is rooted in the notion that the production is an expression of class struggle. He notes that different societies at every point in history have created distinctive social spaces that reflect the necessary conditions for economic production and social reproduction (Hayden 1995). The conceptual triad Lefebvre developed consists of spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces. Spatial practice is the performance of a shared understanding of what space represents, and intellectually links different spaces. Representations of space are the dominant spaces in society, related to the mode of production and the sphere of scientists and planners who can connect reality with abstract ideas. Representational spaces are those that are lived by all users and ascribed meaning as users see fit. The meaning that Gieryn (2000) identifies as a key component of place is also important to Lefebvre (1991). The meanings assigned to spaces through use make places real by establishing place identities that can be "read" by outsiders (Lefebvre 1991).

Power Dynamics of Place

Place is an important concept for understanding the power relationships between public housing residents and other stakeholders in mixed-income communities. Public housing developments and other areas of concentrated poverty may be viewed as "problems" by policymakers, politicians, academics, and other stakeholders, but to the people who live in those neighborhoods, they are also home. The concept of "home" and associated notions of place attachment make redevelopment tricky business. Outsiders view redevelopment as a potential place-based strategy to ameliorate urban poverty, and

possibly turn a profit while doing so, but the residents who are willing to fight to stay in homes they and their families have inhabited for decades complicate matters. There are very real and lasting emotional and psychological consequences of losing one's home to redevelopment, and different rules for different residents in new sites underscore the fact that some residents have full access to place and others do not (Pattillo 2007; Fullilove 2004).

The Growth Machine

The growth machine thesis is particularly applicable to studies of mixed-income development because it is chiefly concerned with property relations and stakeholders' access to political and economic power (Logan and Molotch 2007). Mixed-income housing policies are attractive to growth coalition members because they provide an opportunity to increase the exchange value of targeted communities. For the present study, I am concerned with the experiences of low income residents who primarily have a use value orientation to neighborhoods and developments. These are the people whose neighborhoods are particularly vulnerable, according to Logan and Molotch, because of their lack of aforementioned political and economic power, and because of "the relative ineffectiveness of the organizations that represent their interests" (2007:113). I am particularly interested in how resident leaders experience development and the strategies that they employ on behalf of residents who are less engaged. Their strong attachment to place, in addition to the "daily rounds" associated with use value, provides incentive to fight for preservation of existing neighborhoods, or, barring that, full and meaningful participation in the planning and governance of new communities.

The shape and locale of public housing communities are remnants of power plays that kept many racial and ethnic minorities and low income families segregated from the rest of the population (Hunt 2009, Hyra 2008). It follows that investigations into mixed-income communities require attention to how spaces and places are produced, and by whom, as well as who is marginalized, or excluded altogether, in the creation of these developments. Whereas once entire geographic areas were characterized by neglect, the influx of public and private investment has moved those neighborhoods beyond disinvestment and into a struggle between actors with use value and those with exchange value. This complements notions of consumer citizenship in that those with exchange value are the actors driving development. Market rate homeowners, who have both use and exchange value orientations to new communities, have considerable power in both placemaking and governance.

Like other aspects of social (and spatial) life, the construction of social space is directly tied to issues of class and capitalism. Control over the meaning of a place, which is crucial to its identity and uses, is often decided by actors with financial power or interests (Gieryn 2000). Those who wish to inhabit the space have to abide by the rules of the dominant, meaning-assigning group, which tends to consist of higher status people (Pattillo 2007; Rosenbaum et al. 2005). Thus, far from being a democratic sphere where people can come together and interact, public space is subject to many of the same tensions, and possibilities, as other arenas.

Maximizing the exchange value of public housing developments generally translates to demolishing existing structures and building entirely new mixed-income

communities in their footprint. At once, the history of a place, as contained in the built environment, is erased and replaced by a form that Lefebvre (1991) might suggest reflects a reproduction of the social relations of production. Former public housing residents are required to negotiate new place identities that emerge as a result of efforts by new residents and flexible citizens (Anderson 2004; Lofland 1998). As I discuss in Chapter Three, public housing residents may continue to bear a former place identity through a process of heightened stigmatization, both complicating place and making its meaning indelible.

Surveillance of activity within public spaces can be a device for both safety and sanctioning. Natural surveillance, or “eyes on the street,” can provide a measure of safety and inspire a sense of community, that, when absent, can lead to crime and violence (Hunt 2009; Jacobs 1961). However, surveillance also allows for significant social control that is unevenly applied to public housing tenants in mixed-income communities (Pattillo 2007). Following the design of public space and surrounding built environment, there is a “set of conditioning factors which affect the relationship between public space and social interaction” (Talen 2000:346). These factors include age, gender, housing tenure, length of residence in the community, and the presence of children in the household. Talen (2000) suggests that residents need to feel they have something in common with each other in order for public space to be an effective forum for developing community. Tenure-related disparities in how residents can participate in site governance and use space in redeveloped areas weaken a place’s chances to foster the kind of community that might help low income tenants become self-sufficient.

Place attachment associated with use value may serve as a motivation for tenants to actively resist redevelopment. In new communities, the process of placemaking is one that offers two opportunities for performances of power – first by developers and architects who plan and design spaces, and then by higher status neighbors who claim and code spaces, and who have dual use and exchange value orientation to the property. This project moves past what tenants want to preserve and how they use new spaces, and focuses instead on how they go about achieving those goals.

Mixed-income housing policies remake places, both physically and socially. The present study can contribute to the place literature by examining how housing policies make use of existing power relations and direct placemaking. The emphasis is on the social aspects of placemaking and responds to the call that “scholars and policymakers must identify ways to build and mobilize neighborhood-based community capacity in support of people if such projects are to achieve the goal of poverty amelioration” (Fraser and Nelson 2008:2138). In the following chapters, I also explore the lasting stigma associated with public housing, and the impact that may have on the way we conceptualize place. If public housing residents continue to experience an association with stigmatized places long after they have been demolished, it is possible that their legacies may endure longer than their physical forms.

Territorial Stigmatization and Public Housing

Public housing communities are profoundly stigmatized and attach a “blemish of place” to residents past and present. Residents are uniquely bounded to place through both restrictions associated with their subsidies and comfort in a familiar environment.

The bond between residents and the highly stigmatized communities means it can be difficult for outsiders to separate people from places, producing what Wacquant (2008) calls “territorial stigmatization.” This refers to a process by which negative narratives about a place follow its residents into other contexts, such as employment interviews and loan applications. Though Wacquant (2008) did not specifically discuss public housing developments, they are certainly sites of “advanced marginality,” marked by mass unemployment, withdrawal of public and private resources, and heightened stigmatization. Advanced marginality is “a novel regime of sociospatial relegation and exclusionary closure” resulting from uneven economic development and the retrenchment of the welfare state (Wacquant 2008:2).

Rather than attributing the community chaos to the actions of residents, Wacquant (2008) focuses on external factors. The “violence from above” that contributes to advanced marginality is characterized by three conditions: mass unemployment; relegation to decaying neighborhoods; and heightened stigmatization in daily life. The combination of these accelerates the decline and abandonment of both people and communities. Despite the conditions in territorially stigmatized communities, Wacquant cautions scholars to avoid exoticizing residents and recognize that these neighborhoods are not disorganized, but organized differently than more affluent places. This contradicts his suggestion that geographic areas experiencing advanced marginality cease to be places and revert to being spaces, a notion that is challenged by resident leaders’ ongoing place attachment.

The concept of territorial stigmatization is highly relevant to this study because as mixed-income communities are developed in the footprint of former public housing developments, public housing residents continue to be stigmatized by their housing tenure. Homeownership has been normalized as the tenure of choice, around which moral norms of consumption are normalized (McGee 2011). As public housing transitions to mixed-income housing and the role of the market is expanded, drawing residents into closer proximity with homeowners and higher income renters, they are expected to self-regulate their conduct in accordance with new norms. In the context of this study, Chicago's advanced marginality is organized around both ethnoracial and spatial categories, which is consistent with Wacquant's conceptualization. Sydney's advanced marginality is primarily based on geography, which supports Rhodes's (2012) finding that territorial stigmatization can be applied to areas that are predominantly white.

Neoliberalism and Citizenship

To situate public housing redeveloping in the broader context of privatization, I utilize Wacquant's characterization of neoliberalism as a state-crafting project that "consists of an articulation of state, market, and citizenship that harnesses the first to impose the stamp of the second onto the third" (2012:71). It is at once neo-Marxist and Foucaultian, incorporating market rule and governmentality. Through privatization of public services, the market can authenticate citizenship for those who can access the privatized services. In this case, public housing authorities are relinquishing responsibility for both buildings and residents to private developers and managers, and residents are expected self-govern according to accepted middle class norms, knowing

that the threat of eviction exists if they do not. Their place in the market reinforces constraints on their behavior.

The categories of citizens that emerge under neoliberalism are very much tied to both market and civic participation, and it is through this lens that I consider the efforts of resident leaders to lay claim to new communities. Lepofsky and Fraser (2003) identify three categories of citizens who participate in making urban space: flexible citizens, durable citizens, and non-citizens. Housing authorities and other state actors, private sector representatives, and homeowners, among others, can be classified as flexible citizens, whose access to capital ensures a role in decision-making, regardless of local residence. Resident leaders who are bound to place but participate in redevelopment activities can be viewed as durable citizens, though their localized civic participation is compromised by the fact that they speak on behalf of mostly disengaged, non-citizen (by this definition) tenants.

Resident leaders present a unique problem for neoliberal citizenship because while they lack capital, they participate in decision-making and other civic engagement projects in meaningful and ongoing ways. They do everything “right,” but because they cannot compete economically, their representation of flawed communities creates space for other stakeholders—notably flexible citizens—to dismiss them. A continued focus on petitioning the state, rather than private stakeholders who are crucial decision-makers in mixed-income communities, further complicates their position. Ideally, the discussion in Chapter Four will contribute to the dialogue about citizen-sanctioned participation and neoliberal citizenship.

Power associated with citizenship is also applicable to the interactions that public housing residents have with university researchers and consultants who regularly appear in their communities. Long before mixed-income strategies were conceived of as the solution to concentrated poverty, public housing residents were subjected to endless parades of researchers seeking to understand everything from family structure to the informal economy. Time and again, residents have been asked to participate in research that is often deeply personal and emotionally charged. When data collection is complete, researchers generally disappear back into the academic ether, leaving residents frustrated, and with nothing to show for the time and information they share. Their position as either vilified or provincial durable citizens has limited their ability to interrogate the research process or demand accountability. As part of *Residents' Voices*, we attempted to mediate this power differential by exploring avenues by which residents could challenge the process, but identified institutional hurdles that confirm universities' positions as flexible citizens.

Race and Public Housing

Race is an important piece of the discussion about public housing in Chicago, while, in Sydney, class is the defining principle of exclusion. Public housing in Chicago is highly racialized, and has been since the early days of the CHA, when city alderman blocked public housing from being built anywhere but in African American neighborhoods (Venkatesh 2000). The very seeds of redevelopment were planted with a lawsuit over residential segregation, and in some, though not all Plan for Transformation

sites, “middle class” often also means “not black” when referring to new residents (Hunt 2009; Polikoff 2006).

Residential segregation is a significant problem in the United States, and is particularly pronounced in Chicago. Charles (2006) argues that racial discrimination is the basis for persistent isolation of minorities from whites. Wacquant and Wilson (1989) and Massey and Denton (1993) use the residential segregation of African Americans as a springboard for discussions about responses to poverty in urban areas. Social class is, of course, an important factor in the U.S., but stereotyping, social distance, competition, and discrimination between racial groups have been found to be more important than any social class characteristics in determining acceptable residential racial composition (Charles 2006). It is clear that whites do not wish to share residential space with nonwhites in order to preserve their status, and that much of this is rooted in a long history of racism, both institutional and individual.

What emerges in some U.S. cities is an intraracial class struggle that takes place within a racialized urban context and closely resembles interracial contestations over space between oldtimers and newcomers (Pattillo 2007; Taylor 2002). Black gentrifiers that started appearing in Harlem in the 1970s and 1980s, for example, present a complex problem. Some newcomers were interested in living in a black community, others in investment, but nearly all contributed to a new definition of what Harlem could be and who had the power to define space (Taylor 2002). Fights over public housing redevelopment in Chicago’s North Kenwood-Oakland (NKO) neighborhood were viewed by oldtimers as “nothing more than a front for actual designs to reclaim now-prime

lakefront land for the wealthy, including wealthy African Americans” (Pattillo 2007:256). While I have some critiques of Pattillo’s work on NKO based on her position as a high status and institutionally-involved black gentrifier, and my own experiences working with public housing residents in the redeveloped property described in the book, I cannot quibble with her assessment of the inter- and intraracial politics at play in the transformation of that neighborhood. These stories are largely intraracial, rooted in class conflict, personal history, and place, but must be considered because even higher income, higher status African Americans represent the marginalized group in many white neighborhoods (Pattillo 2007; Charles 2006; Taylor 2002).

Dissertation Overview

In the following chapters, I examine what it means to be a resident leader while public housing is undergoing a significant transformation. It became apparent during my research that residents have not yet been conceptually separated from the places they used to live, and I became interested in how leaders used this association to make claims to space in new communities. As stigmatized, non-propertied individuals, their history of enduring decayed neighborhoods became a narrative tool, though one that often existed outside of scope of negotiation with newer, private stakeholders. Resident leaders’ efforts uniquely situate them as community members.

In Chapter Two, I present the study methods, including a lengthy discussion of the highlights and challenges of conducting collaborative, cross-national research. I discuss the origins and expectations of *Residents’ Voices*, as well as the research projects that were undertaken under the project’s banner. The philosophical and methodological

approaches presented in this chapter directly relate to the Residents' Research Bill of Rights discussed in Chapter Five.

The future of place and public housing residents' relationship to it is the subject of Chapter Three. Here I build on Wacquant's (2008) concept of territorial stigmatization, considering the present context, in which formerly notorious public housing communities are being replaced by mixed-income developments. I explore what place means and how it is made. There is a discussion of how resident leaders have experienced territorial stigmatization and how violence and crime have informed both resident experience and public housing's place identity. The Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation and Housing New South Wales's renewal strategy are examined, as are the roles that resident leaders play during redevelopment. Finally, I introduce the concept of territorial embodiment, in which stigmatized place identities are transferred from the physical locations of public housing to former residents following demolition. The notion that place can retain analytic power once its material form is changed, or in this case, destroyed, is the central finding of this chapter and contributes to later discussions about access to citizenship.

Chapter Four examines what it means to be a resident leader, and how the position is evolving as public housing undergoes a dramatic transformation. Leaders shared their paths to becoming community advocates, including how they learned to negotiate housing authorities. I discuss the activities that leaders are expected to perform, such as speaking on behalf of other residents and sharing resident perspectives during redevelopment planning. The position is changing significantly with redevelopment, and

I consider the future of resident leadership, and whether as non-propertied individuals, leaders' tactic of primarily negotiating rights with the state is becoming outdated. Central to this discussion is the neoliberal conceptualization of citizenship, in which actors with access to capital are granted full citizenship rights, and control decision-making processes.

Negotiation with institutional actors also drives the discussion in Chapter Five. Here, the process of conducting the resident-led, participatory research of *Residents' Voices* takes center stage. As the project began, resident leaders challenged the research process, and together we explored the ways repeated interactions with academics and community consultants produce anger, resistance, and vulnerability in over-researched populations. The result of these discussions was a proposal for a Residents' Research Bill of Rights, which leaders and other community members can use to inform interactions between researchers and subjects in their neighborhoods. During the course of this planning, leaders proposed solutions, such as joint ownership of data and accountability to research participants to return findings, which may be challenging for even open-minded, community-oriented academics to adhere to. To that end, I enumerate the institutional policies that stand as barriers to establishing more egalitarian research practices.

In Chapter Six, I offer conclusions about the implications of public housing redevelopment for both resident leaders and their communities, as well as the nature of place. I discuss the intersection between the ongoing stigma of public housing that has taken the form of territorial embodiment, the neoliberal citizenship status of public

housing residents, and residents' ability to access placemaking activities in redeveloped communities. I also consider the future of leaders' interactions with public housing stakeholders and other institutional actors with whom they regularly interact. I close with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

RESIDENTS' VOICES PROJECT OVERVIEW AND METHODS

This study was borne of a desire to explore what research on public housing communities would look like if residents were the ones developing the questions and driving the inquiry. The *Residents' Voices* project was designed to capture resident concerns and develop ways for them to communicate directly with each other about strategies for dealing with housing policies that, in some cases, were doing more harm than good. An additional, long-term goal of the project was to help insert the resident perspective into policy discussions, elevating resident expertise on housing issues to the same accepted heights as knowledge produced by academics or policymakers.

Engaging residents, a highly over-researched population, required considerable groundwork to build relationships, and careful attention to maintain them throughout the data collection period. To demonstrate a commitment to non-exploitative research to participants, I adhered to the principles of community-based participatory research. This approach posed some challenges, including taking on different, sometimes conflicting roles, and a willingness to forego collecting data at certain times. The analysis in the following chapters foregrounds residents' perspectives, as their conceptualization of housing policy and interactions with other stakeholders grounded their work as tenant activists.

The adoption of a poverty deconcentration strategy based on mixed income

housing in both Chicago and Sydney offers the opportunity to explore how similar policies are implemented in two different contexts. The majority of my research, particularly ethnography, took place in Chicago, but interviews and observations in Sydney provided a lens through which to more closely examine the tactics that resident leaders use when confronted with a policy of redevelopment. Despite historical, demographic, and geographical differences, leaders employed many of the same strategies with the two housing authorities.

Site Selection and Access

This study took place in four broadly-defined sites, two in Chicago, and two in Sydney. I refer to the sites as “broadly-defined” because some are closely tied to a specific geographic area, while others are organizational and represent multiple neighborhoods. The two cities offered an opportunity to examine how similar policies were implemented in very different contexts, and how resident leaders participated in or mounted resistance to the processes of redevelopment. Because they were the two home cities of the *Residents’ Voices* research teams, we could also make use of our collective personal and professional ties to gain access to resident groups.

Chicago

Chicago is notorious for its public housing, and the Plan for Transformation represents the largest single mixed-income redevelopment effort in the nation. While some argue that the conditions of public housing, or now mixed-income housing redevelopment, in Chicago represent an extreme case, I suggest that its scale offers the opportunity to examine both the best and worst practices of HOPE VI. Since the Plan

encompasses such a long span of time (15 years and running), and involves so many public and private stakeholders and strategies, what works and what does not, and the spaces for resident involvement should be evident in Chicago. In addition to public housing, there is a community of affordable housing resident activists living in multifamily affordable buildings utilizing project-based Section 8, which is considered to be a “different universe” from public housing. Though some funds for these buildings are administered by the CHA, residents operate within a different political and social landscape than their public housing equivalents. I wanted to capture some of those successes by speaking to long-term resident leaders in that community.

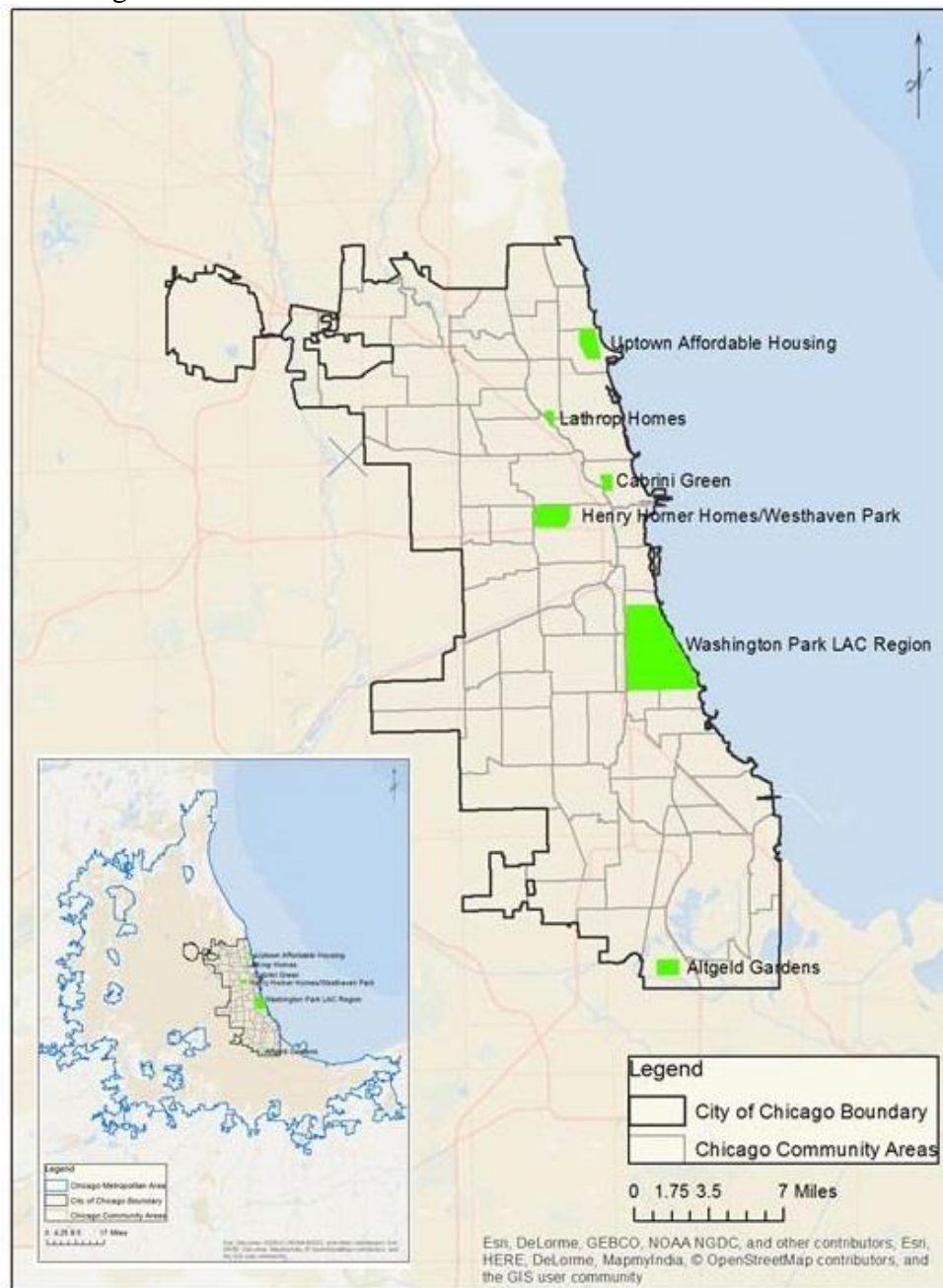
The “site” is the City of Chicago as a whole, though both ethnographic observations and interviews were primarily conducted within two geographic areas, the mid-South Side and Uptown. Both areas have rich, well-documented histories, and were once important cultural centers¹. Since redevelopment began, the Central Advisory Council, which was once a powerful place-based, institutionalized unit of CHA resident leadership, has been stripped of a considerable amount of influence. In most cases, CAC members now represent large geographic areas rather than specific developments.

I focused on the mid-South because it was the site of large, notorious public housing developments, including Robert Taylor Homes, Stateway Gardens, and Ida B. Wells, and because it continues to be poor and predominantly African American, making it more resistant to narrative reframing. The mid-South broadly covers several community areas – Douglas, Grand Boulevard, Kenwood (specifically North Kenwood), Oakland, and Washington Park – with a north boundary of 26th Street, a south boundary

¹ For complete community and housing history, see Chapter Three.

of 63rd street, a west boundary of the Dan Ryan Expressway (I-90/I-94), and an east boundary of Lake Shore Drive. It also includes Bronzeville, the historic “Black Metropolis” of the early 20th century.

Figure 1. Chicago Research Sites



Uptown is also situated along Lake Shore Drive, but on the North Side of the city, bounded by Irving Park Road on the south and Foster Avenue on the north. The neighborhood is one of the most racially and ethnically diverse in the city, and has been site of considerable contestation over affordable housing preservation and development. In Uptown, residents have been participated in successful national efforts to preserve affordable housing through congressional legislation. Though I only interviewed a small number of these leaders, their broader focus and collaborations with community organizers provide insight into an alternative strategy for resistance.

Despite CURL's relationships in the communities we hoped to engage for *Residents' Voices*, the project was slow to launch. Leadership of the community organizations we approached, Centers for New Horizons on the South Side and Organization of the Northeast (ONE) in Uptown², were interested in participating, and assigned staff that worked more closely with tenant leaders to arrange introductory meetings. The research team was connected to CHA residents through a relationship with Centers for New Horizons, a 40 year-old social services agency that offers a variety of programs including early childhood, health and wellness, and workforce development on the city's South Side. On the North Side, ONE, a non-profit engaging in grassroots community organizing, recruited resident leaders, many of whom were familiar with CURL because they participated in a research project in the 1990s.

Progress in both Chicago sites was hampered when the project contacts at Centers and ONE left their respective agencies, which took time to overcome. We only learned

² Now Organizing Neighborhoods for Equality: Northside, or ONE Northside, following the merger of Organization of the Northeast and Lakeview Action Coalition.

that our Centers contact had left the agency when we arrived for a meeting to find that she was not there and had not informed residents that we would be there. The departure of our first staff contact at ONE was anticipated, but his replacement was less focused on affordable housing issues and had limited knowledge about resident organizers' activities. In both cases, we bypassed the agencies and began working directly with resident leaders.

At Centers, a staff member was enlisted to recruit residents to learn about *RV*, but miscommunication between the staff and research team meant that residents were left waiting over an hour for the research team to arrive to the first meeting. While forgiving about the scheduling error, the residents at the meeting had considerable experience with academic researchers and were not immediately interested in participating in yet another project. At the end of the meeting, a few residents agreed to participate, but said that they wanted to develop a waiver that the research team would have to sign stipulating that data could only be used to inform dissertations, and could not be used for any documentaries or reports that would generate profit.³ This process, along with larger questions about the nature of research on/with over-researched populations, is discussed in great detail in Chapter Five.

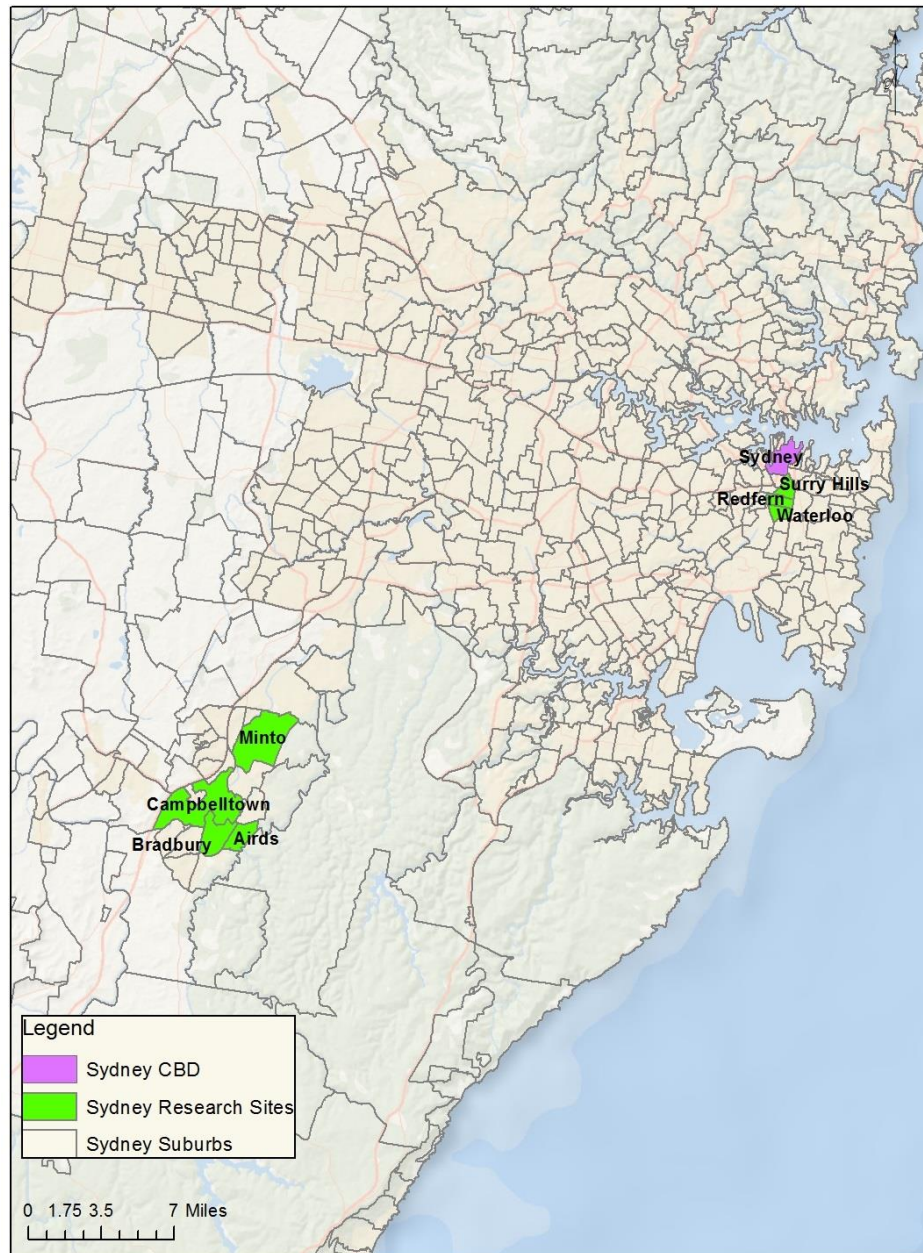
Sydney

Public housing in Sydney is at once on a larger scale and more disconnected than in Chicago. Housing New South Wales (HNSW) oversees public housing in the entire state of New South Wales, meaning that estates are dispersed across a larger geographic area than Chicago, and can be located in either the inner city or far suburbs. *Residents'*

³ See Chapter Five for the resulting "Residents' Research Bill of Rights."

Voices, and by extension this project, focused on Redfern-Waterloo, located 3 kilometers south of Sydney's central business district, and the Campbelltown area, including Airds Bradbury and Minto, which is located approximately 50 kilometers southwest of the city center.

Figure 2. Sydney Research Sites



To access the resident leaders in Sydney, I relied entirely on the research team members based in Australia. As I was laying the groundwork for the project in Chicago, they were recruiting residents for *Residents' Voices* in Sydney. During my first research trip in July/August of 2011, I attended meetings and met residents in Redfern-Waterloo and Campbelltown. Once I returned to Chicago, we began to develop the website, through which I had access to some of the materials highlighting issues in which residents were interested. I collected the bulk of my Australian data, and conducted all of my interviews, during an extended research trip to Sydney in October and November of 2012. During this period, I observed and/or presented at meetings and participated in the first public presentation of the digital stories that were collected in Sydney and Chicago. After spending time with residents during these activities, and with Lauren's assistance, I requested interviews. In a few cases, residents I spoke with suggested additional leaders to interview.

***Residents' Voices* Research Project**

Residents' Voices is a collaborative research project conceived by housing researchers at the University of Western Sydney and jointly conducted by UWS and the Center for Urban Research and Learning at Loyola University Chicago. The objective of *Residents' Voices* was threefold: to support the development of new knowledge; to develop and document innovative research methodologies; and to facilitate communication between residents internationally. Each member of the *RV* research team knew from personal experience that the research questions generated by academics did not always capture residents' everyday realities or concerns. We hoped that by

conducting research proposed by residents alongside residents, we could produce findings that would bring resident perspectives into policy discussions about housing and poverty.

Traditional research into public housing communities and mixed-income redevelopment has focused on outcomes for residents and the broader reframing of urban areas following a neoliberal agenda. We know, however, that there is more to resident experience in transforming communities than what they achieve when they are relocated, and that their observations can inform conversations about concentrated poverty in ways the academy could not conceive of on its own. Likewise, consultations about redevelopment and other policy issues constrict the options that residents can choose from and the aspects of planning on which they can comment. *Residents' Voices* began with the assumption that residents have considerable capacity to identify issues in their communities, including those that may have policy implications.

Residents' Voices Project Challenges

The *Residents' Voices* project was pitched to residents as a truly community-based, participatory research project. As such, we went into our initial meetings without a research agenda, and offering to conduct any research that the residents wanted done to support their existing efforts. As I set up the project in Chicago, I found that the resident-led approach to research posed some challenges, including recruiting residents, identifying projects, and collecting data in a way that could inform a traditional dissertation. An emphasis on resident leaders meant that the participants had continuing responsibilities elsewhere and limited time to design and execute new projects.

Scheduling meetings was challenging at times, and nearly everywhere one went, these leaders were approached by other residents in need of assistance. An obvious solution would have been to function as support for existing projects that on which resident leaders were already working.

Though most of our access to resident groups was gained through personal or well-established professional relationships, we still required a period of time to build rapport, so inserting ourselves into existing work was not always possible. In some cases, as with the CAC's response to CHA's Plan for Transformation revision (Plan Forward), the groups already had support from other researchers. Beyond that, leaders were often forced to react to new information or plans released by the housing authorities rather than develop long-term strategies, so the focus from meeting to meeting was not consistent.

The community-based, participatory methods at the center of *Residents' Voices* represented the traditional forms of research that are the basis of most dissertations, as well as books and journal articles that inform policy discussions. The spaces in which we conducted research were, in some ways, intentionally altered by our presence. While our goal was to produce resident-led research, we drove a portion of the conversations, developing projects out of comments residents had made or highlighting interest that countered accepted academic or policy rhetoric. In this respect, though *Residents' Voices* supported the development of new knowledge, incorporated innovated research methodologies, and, to a lesser extent, facilitated communications between geographically dispersed residents, it was not resident-led, but a collaborative project driven by academics. It was an important finding that resident leaders with considerable

responsibilities in their own communities did not have the time to focus on developing new projects with us, even if they supported the project's goals and objectives.

Public Sociology and Applied Methods

In 1932, Henry Pratt Fairchild wrote that “any science that touches in any degree upon the problems of human welfare – and what science does not? – must of necessity have its applied aspects” (p. 187). Thirty-four years later, Howard Becker, in his presidential address to the Society for the Study of Social Problems, argued that it was not possible “to do research that is uncontaminated by personal and political sympathies” (1967:239). A generation on, Michael Burawoy called on the membership of the American Sociological Association to “make public sociology a visible and legitimate enterprise, and thereby, invigorate the discipline as a whole” (2005:4). Despite a long history, public sociology and engaged research have fought an uphill battle to be regarded as an important component of the discipline. Burawoy's directive is a reminder that while American sociology's early days were marked by engaged research and activism by such notables as Jane Addams and W.E.B. DuBois, the practice of public sociology fell out of favor in academia.

Recent years have seen increased support for public sociology and a renewed debate over how and why we should conduct research. The tensions between sociologists who are focused on the “professional” side of the discipline and those who are engaged with broader audiences are both ideological and practical. In many ways, it speaks to the identity of the discipline; are we in the business of producing knowledge for its own sake, or do we have a responsibility to engage the publics and problems that we study?

Residents' Voices was oriented toward the latter, with an additional goal of positioning non-academic participants as knowledge producers and owners.

There are a number of issues that must be weighed by the sociologist who considers embarking on engaged research. The fundamental way research is approached, departs from what is known and accepted in traditional sociology. It begins with research design, a process which is often undertaken with community partners who are not trained sociologists. Action research, participatory action research, and community-based participatory research, among other approaches, give non-academic partners some control over the research process and often have social or policy change as a goal. Research projects developed with non-academics and with an objective other than producing traditional outcomes such as peer-reviewed articles and theory-building are regarded as inferior to more rigidly controlled studies. Likewise, conducting analysis and creating consensus about findings in dialogue with publics rather than through traditional methods is seen as a threat to the discipline's ability to find the "truth" (Smith-Lovin 2007). The question of methods gives rise to the question of ethics in research broadly. Pure academic research, however carefully executed, takes knowledge, expertise and time out of studied communities and gives little in return. Institutional review boards hold researchers to high standards, requiring all who work with human subjects to articulate the anticipated interactions between researcher and researched, and indicate how subjects will be protected. However, the realities and uncertainties of the field may pose challenges in that while researchers may obtain consent, it is not a guarantee that participants completely understand their rights, nor that researchers can maintain total

control over how participants experience the research process (Molyneux, Peshu and Marsh 2004). Engaged researchers, who are often held accountable to community partners in addition to IRBs, sometimes encounter difficulties obtaining approval for community-based research because of a lack of IRB familiarity with such methods (Shore 2007).

Public sociology engages various publics in discourse, but does not necessarily include these groups in the actual research process. Perhaps this is why Burawoy (2005) called for a public sociology in his presidential address instead of an engaged one; it requires less upheaval for the discipline as a whole. Within public sociology, he created two distinct tracts: traditional public sociology and organic public sociology. In traditional public sociology, “the publics being addressed are generally invisible in that they cannot be seen, thin in that they do not generate much internal interaction, [and] passive in that they do not constitute a movement or organization” (Burawoy 2005:7). Traditional public sociology is work that engages the public through popularly available books and other media such as newspapers, and can inform or inspire mainstream discourse. There is no doubt traditional public sociology occupies a unique and interesting position within the discipline, however, I focus instead on the engaged methods that fit into Burawoy’s more controversial organic public sociology category. These methods are collaborative, action-oriented, and can be powerful tools for advancing scientific knowledge and social justice (Feagin 2001; Whyte 1989).

Collaboration

Collaboration is a central tenet of engaged research broadly, and was a goal as well as a strategy for this project. The collaborative process requires time, trust, and a wiliness to share control that distinguishes engaged research projects from traditional efforts. Effort and attention is required for access to any research site, but when collaborating with community partners, “research entry requires the building and maintenance of long-term and reciprocal relationships between researchers and community members with power imbalances to be constantly navigated” (Ochocka, Moolag, and Janzen 2010). It also requires that researchers relinquish some control over the research agenda and accept that non-academics have important knowledge and can contribute to knowledge creation (Cuthill 2010).

For all the effort that goes into collaborations, the benefits to working in this manner with people outside of the academy are numerous. Partners offer insight on “key issues or obstacles facing community organizations” and can provide information about the history and power dynamics of the community that they have accumulated over time (Nyden, Hossfeld, and Nyden 2012:37). Collaborations at the research design stage also incorporate local knowledge, potentially surfacing research questions that academics would not have identified on their own. Research done in partnership with local actors may yield richer data, as participants may be more responsive in situations where they have a vested interest in the outcome.

Building collaborative relationships is not an easy task. A considerable amount of writing on community-based research has included reflections on relationship-building

within university-community partnerships (Nyden, Hossfeld, and Nyden 2012; Gonzalez 2011; Goto 2010; Brown and Gaventa 2010; García-Ramírez et al. 2009; Carter 2007; Silka 2005a; Silka 2004; Galea et al. 2001). Developing partnerships requires acknowledgment of partner organizations' capacities and interests, attention to potential power dynamics within the relationships, and the articulation of a mutually-acceptable end goal. It may also require "damage control" in communities that have been highly researched and can muddy the waters of what the sociologist's role is and should be in the research setting.

Public sociology projects "typically grow out of existing relationships between sociologists and publics" (Nyden, Hossfeld, and Nyden 2012:34) but the specifics of the research are nevertheless a process of negotiation. Early conversations may be devoted to each partner sharing what resources and interests they have and what they hope to achieve. This stage also requires both academic and community partners to shed some assumptions about what strategies will work best, and open themselves to alternative ideas (Silka 2005a). It is common to see task forces or steering committees developed around collaborative partnerships that involve several partners and engage a significant number of community members (García-Ramírez et al. 2009). These steering committees can be consulted throughout the course of the research to ensure that appropriate decisions and alterations are being made.

Action Research

This study is situated within *Residents' Voices*, and as a result utilizes the same action research methods as the broader project. When the term "action research" was first

introduced in 1946, it referred to “a new approach to social research that involved the researcher trying to change the system while at the same time generating critical knowledge about it” (Small 1995:942). Action research does not require a specific methodology, but instead draws on a variety of approaches to address some practical concern (Small 1995; Somekh 1995). It also calls for collaboration with non-academic partners at every stage of the research, from design to dissemination (Lingard, Albert and Levinson 2008). These outside voices, in this case public housing residents, are important contributors to knowledge production.

Acknowledging the power dynamics that were unfolding as the study progressed was crucial and in alignment with the tenets of action research, which “calls for heightened attention to how power and trust shape the relationship between partners (relationality) and how this relationship shapes what is learned and concluded (the findings)” (Small and Utall 2005:938). The conscious examination of power dynamics between the researcher and researched, and the privileging of knowledge that originates with non-academic partners removes sociologists from the expert position they are accustomed to occupying in traditional research relationships. In the next section, I will discuss how this ideological approach influenced how and when data was collected, and the competing roles that members of the research team were sometimes forced to play.

Roles and Responsibilities in Action Research

The participatory nature of the *Residents' Voices* project meant that I and other members of the research team often had to stop to consider what roles we were occupying at a given moment. Throughout the course of the work, I found myself acting

in three distinct capacities: researcher, project manager, and ally/activist. Under the guise of researcher, I was a participant observer of meetings and events, and conducted informal and semi-structured interviews. As a project manager, I coordinated activities for the individual projects, such as facilitating meetings designed to identify resident-led research projects and arranging the transfer of photographs or other materials. Finally, there were certain instances in which I was invited to attend meetings or workshops purely as an ally of resident leaders.

In some situations, it was difficult to discern which of these capacities was appropriate, which influenced how I collected data, or even if I should collect data. The project was brought to the participating resident groups as one in which they could direct the work, and we cast ourselves (not inauthentically) as supporters with a particular skill set that they could utilize to further their efforts. As such, data collection for the purposes of writing a dissertation occasionally felt at odds with the “mission” of what we were trying to accomplish. Maintaining a positive working relationship with the residents was paramount, so if I felt that they would be uncomfortable with a tape recorder, or that my taking notes during a meeting would compromise their standing in a group they had invited me to, I refrained from using those methods. At times, I observed discussions or activities that were well within the scope of my research, but could not be included here because it was explicitly stated that I was there as an ally. The dissertation as a whole reflects this approach to data collection, as I did not want to replicate the many injuries that public housing residents in both Chicago and Sydney have experienced at the hands of academic researchers.

Digital Storytelling

Digital storytelling was a project that was introduced first in Sydney and then replicated, albeit with modifications, in Chicago. The aim of collecting these stories was to give people an opportunity to share their perspectives on living in public housing in their own words, and without any limitations. Community-based research projects that incorporate photovoice, participatory mapping, and participatory video offer different view of the places, perspectives, and relationships within communities. It can be, as one participatory mapmaker called it, “culture-making,” and it reveals much about power and who has the right to define boundaries (Sletto 2009). Photovoice and participatory video give participants the opportunity to create visual representations of experiences, which can be used as a basis for discussion and engage participants in more creative ways (Wang 2006; Kindon 2003). While some of them presented a common narrative about living in public housing, including fears for personal safety and poor maintenance, others painted a portrait of vibrant communities where neighbors looked out for each other. They were posted on the *Residents’ Voices* website and open to comment, and are discussed in Chapter Three.

In Chicago, the project was introduced in a small group setting in a mid-South Side public housing building. We deliberately did not recruit the tenant leaders involved in other aspects of *RV*, so as not to involve them in multiple projects at the same time. However, they worked on our behalf to identify other residents that had been or currently were actively involved in the life of their buildings. After the first meeting, Lauren and I arranged individual appointments with interested residents. This was a departure from the

process in Sydney, where residents met weekly as a group over a period of two months. There, they developed, recorded, and edited their stories with media professionals from the Information and Cultural Exchange, a digital arts organization in Parramatta, New South Wales. In Chicago, stories were developed and recorded over two to three sessions. During the first session, we asked open-ended questions about living in public housing and how they felt about their communities. We then identified stories that would translate well into a three- to five-minute vignette, and worked with residents to ensure that all key features and dialogue were incorporated into the story. The final task was to record the stories and, if possible, collect personal photos that would provide the visual accompaniment for the *Residents' Voices* website.

***Residents' Voices* Website**

One of the earliest *Residents' Voices* projects was developing a website that tenants could use to communicate cross-nationally. We knew that despite living in two very different cities, the residents had similar experiences with their housing authorities and were the targets of the same poverty deconcentration policies. It followed that residents could benefit from comparing strategies for resistance directly with each other, and a dedicated website was an ideal space to do that. It was tagged as “a global network where tenants are the experts.” The site was designed so that people could access information related to both their local community, such as meeting times or planning materials, and global resident concerns and strategies. In addition to local and international news about public housing, there was a resource list, and a forum where

residents could discuss topics they suggested. The most-discussed content was featured on the front page of the site to highlight popular topics and try to engage more people.

The website was conceived as a platform for residents to share information and communicate with each other, but there were hurdles that prevented it from realizing that potential. It was difficult for residents to contribute content because only the research team had the administrative rights to create new posts. In order to post information, residents had to send it to a member of the research team, who would then update the website. At times, the submissions required us to write additional contextual information before posting. Depending on the research team's schedule, it could take several days for content to be posted, making it an ineffective tool for disseminating time-sensitive information.

As time passed, it became clear that while the residents in Sydney, particularly those affiliated with REDWatch, regularly used the Internet as a resource and mode of communication, Chicago residents were less likely to do so. The resident groups did not have well-developed websites of their own, and many did not regularly use email. I repeatedly offered it as a place to publicize information, but developing content suitable for the site never emerged as a priority. It was optimistic to assume that they would be active in online forums, even if the purpose was to communicate with other residents they would not normally have the opportunity to engage.

The website held promise at the outset of the project, but it was not regularly maintained. Residents had ongoing duties that took up a considerable amount of time, and developing web content was an additional responsibility. Members of the research

team were busy launching other projects and conducting ethnographic research and interviews.

Ethnographic Observation

I intended this study to be based primarily on interview data, but as I began to build relationships with resident leaders, it became clear that failing to conduct ethnographic observations would be a missed opportunity. The time I spent with leaders attending meetings, over meals, in their homes, and as they conducted their daily business throughout the city, yielded rich and necessary data, particularly in Chicago.

I was often able to take comprehensive notes during meetings, and at times was able to capture direct quotes or faithful descriptions of conversations. In some contexts, or with certain groups of residents, people responded negatively to note-taking, so I wrote up observations after the fact. Resident leaders in Chicago were open to my taking notes, broadly speaking, while I was advised to avoid doing so with resident groups in Sydney. All fieldnotes were transcribed and coded.

In both cities where I observed meetings, I was an obvious outsider, and I was regularly asked to explain my background and interest in the gathering when meeting new people. In Chicago I was regularly one of the few white people in the room, if not the only white person. Each time I introduced myself, I briefly described my affiliation with Loyola and what we hoped to achieve with *Residents' Voices*. It was necessary to describe the project because the presence of a university researcher was not always welcome. In addition to relaying my status as graduate student and researcher, I also used my extensive experience working with residents on the South Side, as well as my familial

roots in that part of the city to build relationships. That I had gained knowledge of certain neighborhoods, businesses, service providers, and community challenges prior to graduate school, and was openly critical of some redevelopment processes I had been involved in gave me additional legitimacy.

Interviews

Resident leaders are deeply involved in their own communities, sometimes to detriment of their personal lives or health. I wanted to understand what drove people in this position to make personal sacrifices, what they were trying to both protect and achieve, and how they went about finding and disseminating information. I conducted a combination of in-depth and informal ethnographic interviews with resident leaders on these topics. In-depth interviews are “designed to go beyond the presumed surface level of respondents’ feelings and into the deeper layers of their consciousness” (Marvasti 2004:22). I have long observed that resident leaders are remarkably savvy about both the needs of others in their communities, and the housing policies and practices that shape their neighborhoods, and I hoped to capture that through interviews.

I conducted ethnographic interviews as the opportunities arose, but was very intentional about developing relationships with resident leaders before requesting that they sit for an in-depth interview. In some cases, this development period was over a year. During this time, we explored themes of resident knowledge, community redevelopment, and economic interests, so that when we sat down for formal interviews, we had already co-created a narrative about their work in their neighborhoods. This

narrative provided a useful frame for my interpretation and analysis of the interviews (Borland 2004).

Interview Sampling and Recruitment

Interview subjects were either elected or self-selected tenant leaders, as opposed to a sample of all residents living in public housing or redeveloped communities. Both Chicago and Sydney tenant leaders have access to different stakeholders than the average resident by virtue of their involvement with their respective tenant representation or activist groups, and have a broad base of knowledge and expertise. Likewise, their election or self-selection to these organizations gives them power and status over most other residents when it comes to making decisions or having a voice in the community, particularly during conversations about redevelopment. The relative connectedness of these leaders to both other residents and the powers that be within housing authorities provides them with a unique perspective.

Interview subjects were drawn primarily from the pool of leaders participating in the *Residents' Voices* project. Because many of the participants had prior negative experiences with academic researchers, I spent a considerable amount of time developing relationships with people before requesting a recorded interview. By the time some of the interviews were conducted, I had already accumulated much of the information through ethnography, but I nevertheless wanted to have focused sessions in which residents reflected on their experiences. I scheduled interviews with those residents either by phone or in person during other events or meetings.

Additional interviewees were identified through snowball sampling or at community meetings. Interviews conducted with those residents tended to be shorter and covered only a portion of the questions, and may or may not have been recorded. I also incorporated interview questions while helping to develop digital stories with residents in Chicago. Tenants participating in that project were identified by other resident leaders, and were less likely to be current representatives. All interviewees except two digital storytelling participants were between the ages of 45 and 70. Their length of time serving as active residents ranged from six years to over 30 years, with the majority involved in tenant representation and advocacy for more than 20 years.

Interview Recruitment Problems

Despite developing relationships with leaders through other aspects of *Residents' Voices*, it was at times challenging to convince them to sit for a more formal interview, particularly in Chicago. People appeared comfortable to have me at meetings where they discussed the strategies, and even welcomed my input and willingness to assist with specific tasks, but some became reluctant when I asked to discuss their personal experiences with leadership and research. The leaders had a significant amount of experience with academic researchers and consultants, and many had been through research that left them feeling angry, vulnerable and used. Additionally, by leading with an open conversation about this type of research, we draw attention not only to our community-based approach, but also the injustice often present in academic-led research. Most interviews were scheduled in person, and I was aware that some people agreed only out of politeness. I tried to be respectful of people's reluctance to participate, and if they

missed or cancelled an interview appointment three times, I took that as a sign that they did not actually want to be interviewed and moved on.

The other roadblock to recruitment was the persistent belief among some of the leaders that I worked for CHA. I believe that this was due in part to my age and race, and in part to the notion that there was no other obvious reason why I would be in those spaces. Though I was clear about my professional affiliations and usually attended meetings at the invitation or in the company of a key resident leader, some leaders remained suspicious. In some cases, I was able to establish *Residents' Voices* as a worthwhile project, but could still only elicit vague promises of a future interview. As with those who repeatedly cancelled interview appointments, I conceded interviews with this group of leaders.

Interview Procedures

I conducted two-types of interviews with resident leaders in each city: semi-structured, in-depth interviews, and ethnographic interviews. Nineteen of the 44 total interviews were in-depth, and the remaining were ethnographic interviews that were conducted either individually or in small groups. My questions focused on how residents came to take on leadership roles, and how they collected and disseminated knowledge about housing policies and housing authority plans to fellow residents. I also inquired about residents' experiences with research and researchers, which had emerged as an important theme as we laid the groundwork for *Residents' Voices*. I did not explicitly ask questions about the nature of residents' communities, but participants talked about their neighbors and neighborhoods without exception. Though I focused my questions on

leadership and redevelopment, residents revealed deep ties to place and concerns about dismantled social networks. As a result, place and community became themes that were equally as important as the people and policies responsible for rearranging their lives.

In-depth interviews were conducted in person, at a location selected by the interviewer. Locations included participant's homes, offices of organizations they were affiliated with, public libraries, and, in one case, a room on Loyola's campus. I requested an hour and a half of residents' time, but the interviews ranged from 45 minutes to over two and a half hours. Three of the interviews were conducted as part of digital storytelling, where I incorporated my questions into the development phase of the project. I asked each interviewee the same questions, so the variation in length was due to the level of detail residents provided in each answer, their desire to speak in-depth about other, related issues and experiences, and their own time constraints. Sixteen of the 19 in-depth interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. I did not audio record the remaining three in-depth interviews because conversations about the exploitative nature of research leading up to the actual interview would have made it uncomfortable to produce a recorder. In those cases, I followed the interview guide, taking notes during the interview and writing additional notes immediately after.

The ethnographic interviews were conducted before or after formal meetings, or during unstructured days in the field. In those cases, the questions primarily focused on how people came to be involved in resident councils or activities, and how they acquire information about what is happening in their communities. These informal interviews were conducted on the spot, and were prompted by my observation of a person taking an

active role in a conversation or raising a broad issue affecting residents other than him/herself. I wrote the ethnographic interviews up immediately after conducting them, or made audio recordings of myself recounting the interview to transcribe at a later date.

Confidentiality and Future Use

The consent form approved by Loyola's Institutional Review Board stated that residents' real names would be referenced in transcripts and audio recordings unless they requested that they be kept confidential. It was also clear that if confidentiality was requested, other identifying information would remain in the documents. All but four of the residents were comfortable having their real names attached to the research, and one of those three specified that she could be referred to by the position she held in a tenant association. Nevertheless, the names that appear in the following chapters are pseudonyms.

As we launched *Residents' Voices*, we encountered some resistance from residents in Chicago who had experience with researchers taking ownership of resident knowledge and claiming it as their own. To address this threat, we established clear guidelines for data usage. Residents agreed that I could use the data to write a dissertation, but that they wanted to be consulted if it was going to inform other publications. This was captured somewhat imperfectly in the "Deed of Gift" agreement, which allowed residents to specify how their interview transcripts and audio recordings could be used in the future by the research team and other researchers accessing the CURL community-based leader archive. If they wished to donate their interviews to the CURL archive, most requested to be contacted for approval if another researcher wished

to access their data. There is unfortunately no mechanism to ensure that contact information for participants remains current, but it does offer a measure of long-term control for residents.

CHAPTER THREE

TERRITORIAL EMBODIMENT AND THE FUTURE OF PLACE

Mixed-income housing policies employ a variety of strategies to change the built environment and introduce previously absent amenities into the neighborhood. Redevelopment of buildings is accompanied by place rebranding—new names, glossy brochures, and model market rate homes promote these communities as ideal for raising a family, commuting to work, and accessing recreational activities. However, the perception of public housing residents that was formed during the decline of their developments remains, despite the fact that many of the communities have been demolished. Though many of the residents who participated in *Residents' Voices* do not, either by choice or by circumstance, live in new developments, negotiating the fundamental reorganization of urban space in public housing communities is central to their work as advocates and experience as tenants. This chapter examines how residents' association with place moves from territorial stigmatization to what I call “territorial embodiment”—the transfer of stigma from a demolished place to the people who lived there—and how that experience informs their narrative about themselves.

Place has always been an important component of public housing, from the initial discussions about the location of housing developments to the current struggles over access to newly built communities. Public housing was originally built in locations that had limited use or exchange value to power brokers, and quickly became geographically,

economically, and socially isolated. As public housing residents inhabited these spaces and resources were continuously withdrawn, the narrative about them became increasingly negative (Pfeiffer 2006). Since place is not a passive context in which action happens but “an agentic player in the game – a force with detectable and independent effects on social life” (Gieryn 2000:466), the policy of remaking place has significant implications for both residents’ lives and their strategies for claiming rights to new communities. While the transformation of public housing communities relies on social support for residents and the introduction of new people and resources, the most consistent and fundamental aspect of the policy concerns the built environment and its expected use (Chaskin and Joseph 2013).

The ties that bind public housing residents to their communities produce the place attachment that is commonly discussed in the literature (Pattillo 2007; Fullilove 2005; Small 2004), but also effectively punish residents for being poor. Residents’ lives throughout the history of public housing have been characterized by how bodies move through and become associated with space. Public housing produces a unique form of segregation in that stipulations in residents’ subsidies and housing authority regulations may prevent them from relocating to even another public housing community. Despite the policy directives that kept public housing residents in place and the strong social and economic bonds that developed in those communities, a narrative grew over time that vilified both residents and their neighborhoods (Pfeiffer 2006; Vale 2002).

Residents living in these communities today, or even those who take their subsidies to the private market, must contend with this territorial stigma that was

developed as they were trapped in place by poverty and policy, and which I suggest they came to embody when their former buildings were torn down. Though the stigmatization produces ongoing challenges for public housing residents, leaders continue to display a strong attachment to these locations. They use the negative discourse about themselves to preserve remaining communities and lay claim to those that have been built in the footprint of the only places that were historically available to them.

Chicago's Plan for Transformation

The notorious reputation that public housing in Chicago developed by the end of the 20th Century was likely inconceivable when the buildings were first constructed between the 1940s and 1960s. Though segregated from the white population of the city—first by political maneuvers designed to keep African Americans out of predominantly white city wards, and then by the construction of expressways—the early years of CHA housing were characterized by well-functioning communities. The states of public and private spaces were central to the maintenance of the image that these neighborhoods were ideal residences. Both formal and informal sanctions associated with misuse of space were employed as a form of social control (Fuerst 2003). In *When Public Housing Was Paradise*, J.S. Fuerst wrote that public housing residents

Recalled in almost reverent terms the responsibilities for cleaning hallways and porches and other common areas. Many traced the decline of their developments in the 1960s not merely to the arrival of gangs but also to management's laxity in enforcing its own rules and to the disappearance of flowers. (2003:3)

The racism that governed the development of CHA housing in the post-war era was evident from the beginning, but the factors that led to the decline of the physical structures came later and arguably had a greater impact on the construction of place in

those communities. By the late-1960s, a change in leadership, lenient tenant screening processes (due in part to the greater need for housing for extremely low-income families), the exodus of the middle class, and limited funds with which to perform maintenance and repairs meant that not only were public spaces not well-tended, but they rapidly deteriorated (Hunt 2009). This condition persisted for nearly 30 years and, together with a court battle, set the stage for the Plan for Transformation and mixed-income housing.

The CHA's Plan for Transformation was devised in the late 1990s under the federal government's 1992 HOPE VI (Housing and Opportunities for People Everywhere) legislation (Venkatesh et al. 2004). The program was created with the goals of "revitalization of severely distressed public housing tracts, creating opportunities for public housing families to move into non-poverty neighborhoods, and generating resources to help turn public housing residents into employed, independent adults" (Venkatesh et al. 2004:2). Launched in 1999, the Plan for Transformation aimed to demolish 18,000 public housing units, relocate residents, and provide social service support to assist families in becoming self-sufficient over a ten year period.

In addition to federal funds, the CHA entered into a series of public-private partnerships with developers to build new mixed-income communities on the former sites of public housing high rises. These partnerships allow CHA to shift some financial and managerial responsibility for constructing and maintaining public housing units to private developers and management companies, who in turn gain access to often advantageously-located public land that had been off limits to them for decades. Construction of new public housing units is subsidized in part by the sale of market rate condos and

townhomes, which appeared to be a good strategy in the booming housing market of the late 1990s and early 2000s, but has faltered in recent years, resulting in slowing development and unavailability of permanent housing for many displaced residents. Rehabbed public housing units for seniors and families have been delivered in significant numbers, but new units are well behind schedule.

The CHA's agreement with residents, the Relocation Rights Contract, states that public housing residents who were lease compliant as of October 1, 1999 were entitled to permanent housing under the Plan for Transformation. The agreement offered no guarantee of residency in new mixed-income communities, however, stating that those with the right to return "*may* be eligible to move back into a new or rehabilitated public housing unit" (CHA website, emphasis added). Agents of the screening process examine families' housekeeping abilities, employment prospects, and criminal histories, assessing their potential to adhere to the middle class norms expected in mixed-income developments (Pattillo 2007). Those who do not meet the stringent criteria are steered toward the private rental market, subsidized by permanent Housing Choice Vouchers (Venkatesh et al. 2004).

Housing New South Wales, Past and Present

Public housing construction was first initiated in Australia to address a post-war housing shortage. Existing housing stock was of poor quality and insufficient to house the population, and public housing offered decent, affordable homes to families (Arthurson 2008). There is a small concentration of public housing in the form of highrises near Sydney's CBD, but the majority of Housing New South Wales units are on estates in the

far western and southwestern suburbs, build on greenfield sites during the 1960s and 1970s. For the following two decades, public housing experienced “residualisation,” or the “combined effect of reduced public investment in new public housing (or even upgrading), and policies that restrict eligibility for housing to the very poorest households” (Darcy 2013:368). The disinvestment caused housing and public areas to become dilapidated, and estates were deeply stigmatized.

As in other places, the drastic change in resident population, from a mix of working and non-working residents to one in which very few were employed and many had complex mental health and substance abuse problems, destabilized the community. The first attempt to address the serious problems with estates was to make adjustments to Radburn-style communities through reorientation of public walkways and the installation of fencing that created private outside space. By the late 1990s, however, HNSW adopted a mixed-income strategy that included public-private partnerships for redevelopment, and a tenure mix that saw 70 percent of units destined for private, market rate residents, and only 30 percent for public housing residents (Darcy 2013). In recent years, management for a portion of publically owned properties has been transferred to non-profit community housing associations (Darcy 2013). While this is not the same as shifting managerial and financial responsibility to the private market, as is seen in Chicago, it may herald a new strategy for public housing operations in Australia.

Redevelopment projects in Sydney’s suburban areas, such as Minto and Airs Bradbury, call for only 30 percent of new units to be public housing. Residents that are not rehoused on site are moved to other public housing estates. In addition to the ongoing

concentration of poverty in remaining communities, it remains to be seen what residents will do when all public housing estates in Sydney become subject to redevelopment. There is nothing akin to Chicago's Relocation Rights Contract, and the vast geographic and municipal divide between residents is not conducive to tenant organizing across estates. With few other options for subsidized rentals and a very competitive, expensive private market, it is not clear how low income families will be able to survive there.

In addition to a net loss of units in suburban areas, HNSW is currently selling off properties in certain areas to private buyers with no plans for local low-income replacement housing. The justification for this strategy in Millers Point, which sits in the shadow of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, is that the selling price of the heritage-listed homes will support the development of multiple units in less expensive areas. To residents, it appears to be a land grab of some of the most expensive real estate in the world. If this trend continues, as appears will happen, it would not be surprising if a similar strategy was employed in nearby and rapidly gentrifying Redfern-Waterloo.

Defining Place

Public housing residents are uniquely tied to place, geographically and socially bound in a way most people living in private market housing are not. As such, it is important to understand what place means to people and how it shapes their daily experiences. The concept of place has been used to conceptualize the growth machine, as a site of contestation, and to articulate emotional attachment to particular areas. It is significant in urban sociology because interactions may both influence and be influenced by the places where they occur. The production of space is a fundamentally social

process and leaves places intact, sometimes long after those who created them have left (Lefebvre 1991). Place, and its commodification, is an important aspect of the growth economy and discourse on use and exchange value (Logan and Molotch 2007).

Community, history, and collective memory are all anchored in place and inspire staunch defense (Small 2004; Kefalas, 2003). Public spaces can be used as a forum to build community or as a mechanism of social control, and they can have a profound effect on people and communities. At the most personal level, place can help a person develop a sense of self and a greater understanding of the social world (Anderson 1999). Above all, it can provide rich information about the conditions and constraints of our research subjects' lives that may be impossible to obtain in any other way.

Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991) is the central theorization of how space is produced. He "argues that every society in history has shaped a distinctive social space that meets its intertwined requirements for economic production and social reproduction" (Hayden 1995:19). Space is an expression of class struggle because the "production of space is performed solely by classes, fractions of classes and groups representative of classes" (Lefebvre 1991:55). Lefebvre (1991) puts forth a conceptual triad consisting of spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces. Spatial practice is the performance of a shared understanding of what space represents, and intellectually links different spaces. Representations of space are the dominant spaces in society, related to the mode of production and the sphere of scientists and planners who can connect reality with abstract ideas. Representational spaces are those that are lived by all users and ascribed meaning as users see fit.

Separated from Lefebvre's more philosophical, theoretical writings on space are the practical elements that produce place in the world. The meaning that Gieryn (2000) identifies as a key component of place is also important to Lefebvre (1991). The meanings assigned to spaces through use make them what they are, for they can have no "reality" without the energy that is deployed within" them (Lefebvre 1991). In addition to possessing a specific energy, Lefebvre notes that places that have been encoded with meaning retain that information: "already produced space can be decoded, can be *read*" (Lefebvre 1991:17).

The "ground rules" that Gieryn (2000) set for the definition of place are as follows: location, material form, and meaningfulness. These three components must be present for a space to take on the quality of place. Location refers to "a unique spot in the universe" that can be of any scale, from a chair to a nation (Gieryn 2000: 464). The material form is the "compilation of things or objects" that make up the place (Ibid.:465). Meaningfulness, which is the "investment with meaning and value," is what transforms space to place (Ibid.). Gieryn (2000) argues that analytically, they are best considered together, since each facet of a place is integral to its character. In public housing communities that have been or are facing redevelopment, the material form is fundamentally changed, leaving location and meaningfulness inexorably altered. As buildings are torn down and replaced, and streets are rerouted, the material form of the new communities bears little resemblance to the old.

Producing Public Spaces

Public spaces are important sites of interaction across groups, a concept that was factored into the justification for mixed-income communities. In considering how public spaces develop, one can begin to understand how people are appropriating them for use, or are excluded. At its most basic, public space can be defined as “a place (or space) created and maintained by public authority, accessible to all citizens for their use and enjoyment” (Jackson 1987:276). Lofland discusses it in terms of a “public realm,” or “those spaces in a city which tend to be inhabited by persons who are strangers to one another or who ‘know’ one another only in terms of occupational or other nonpersonal identity categories” (1998:9). Public spaces may be parks, streets, squares, plazas, monuments, or other open spaces (Gieryn 2000). Scholars are in agreement that public space is defined by the human activity and cooperation that takes place therein (Anderson 2004; Lofland 1998; Lefebvre 1991). Beyond being simply a locale in which activity takes places, public space is also a force which can shape interaction (Gieryn 2000).

Public space is a social product, and “once [that] is accepted...then there is no longer a question of its being a separate structure with rules of construction and transformation which are independent from the wider social framework” (Soja 1980:210). People using the space create its meaning, rather than those who are involved in the physical creation of the space. This idea presupposes that neighborhood residents who have not participated in the creation of their public space care to use it, and that all potential groups have equal access. Lefebvre (1991) notes that this is rarely the case.

The physical existence of many public spaces is due to the interest of stakeholders, who see an advantage in developing an area that they think will draw consumers or improve the value of their property (Marshall 2004; Gieryn 2000; Lefebvre 1991; Whyte 1980). Developers and politicians bring to the table their own set of ideas about what makes successful, usable public spaces. Proximity to the street and lively, mixed-use features are key to developing a successful place (Soja 1980). People want to be where others are, and natural locations for interaction are places situated near busy pedestrian areas that are already well-populated. Jane Jacobs, in her seminal work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), notes that public spaces, particularly parks, are “fickle” places. Stoops and neighborhood corners may be wildly successful as community gathering places, while parks, ostensibly designed for public use are rarely visited. One reason why some public spaces are widely used and others are largely neglected has to do with the surrounding built environment:

This mixture of uses of buildings directly produces for the park a mixture of users who enter and leave the park at different times. They use the park at different times from one another because their daily schedules differ. The park thus possesses an intricate sequence of uses and users. (Jacobs 1961:125)

Public space cannot be created without considering the how the people use and relate to the adjacent commercial and residential development.

Residents who move in to the new developments encounter new opportunities and challenges in these new spaces, and the local knowledge and expertise accumulated over time are often inapplicable. For those who return, a once-cohesive group could be scattered throughout a property, or a new apartment may be in an area of the development with which they are unfamiliar. Beyond a particular site’s boundaries, people who have

not yet been returned, or who choose to take a voucher into the private market, experience “public housing” as something no longer tied to a specific location. The geographic dispersal of residents dislocates community, and while the place itself disappears, the association remains.

The Built Environment

As public housing declined, the buildings became powerful characters in a story about flawed communities. Though there are well-functioning highrises in affluent areas of both Chicago and Sydney, for many, the material form of public housing represented all of the social problems that could be found therein. Likewise, row homes that bear a resemblance to the public housing in Sydney’s western suburbs can be found across the U.S. and Australia without any associated stigma. While a majority of the “traditional” public housing buildings in Chicago have been demolished, and those remaining in Sydney are under threat, much of the work that resident leaders do continues to take place in aging spaces that are owned by either by the housing authorities or non-profit organizations. The process of redevelopment has demolished a built environment that is problematic primarily in reputation and replaced it with spaces where public housing residents are not welcome.

Replacing Chicago’s Highrises

The highrises that comprised so much of Chicago’s public housing are mostly gone, deemed uninhabitable by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the 1990s. Because leaders in mixed-income developments do not have a formal presence in the new mixed-income developments, they do not have access to the community rooms

in new buildings to hold meetings, trainings, or events. To an outsider, the older places to which residents are relegated are a depressing contrast to spaces in the new developments and a stark reminder of how a policy ostensibly designed to increase interaction across housing tenure groups has effectively communicated exclusivity.

Figure 3. Traditional Public Housing in Chicago



Though highrises are primarily a thing of the past, a few buildings remain, including one on the South Side where mixed-income housing was first tested in Chicago over 20 years ago. I spent time there with a number of residents I interviewed, and it provided a stark contrast to more recently conceived mixed-income communities. It is a sixteen-story red brick building standing beside a new mixed-income community along the lakefront, ten minutes from the Loop on Lake Shore Drive. Beside the building stands its twin, the other remaining of six that originally sat on the site. Between them is a park

that includes a play lot for children, grassy open space, and a small community garden. A fence with a padlock communicates that the park is not open to the public. Inside the highrise, a rickety elevator takes you to units with small rooms, tile floors, and cinderblock walls. The units also reveal dazzling views of Lake Michigan, and the city's famed skyline. One resident shared that she watches President Obama's helicopter land across the street when he visits his nearby Chicago home. It is no wonder that this neighborhood, once home to thousands of public housing units, is attractive to developers.

Figure 4. Redeveloped Mixed-Income Housing in Chicago



My first experience with these buildings came in 2006, when I worked with residents in the mixed-income development down the street. At the time, CHA residents living in the new development cautioned me to avoid the buildings and, above all, never

honk my horn at people standing in the street. The mixed-income development differs significantly in material form from the “traditional” public housing building on the corner. Gleaming new mid-rise buildings, small brick six-flats, and an assortment of expensive row homes also frame a park, but one with the latest in playground equipment and a bronze sculpture created by a local artist. When that city park first opened in 2008, residents of the development asked if there was any way they could make it private, so it would not be used by residents of the highrises. Some of the most vocal supporters of this proposal were CHA residents living in the new buildings. Even amongst public housing residents, the divide between new and old buildings produced an “us and them” dynamic.

The brick façade of the new construction hides apartments with thin walls and plumbing issues, but sends a message of revitalization to the outside world. The new buildings do not foster a sense of community, despite efforts by the management company and others (including myself from 2006 to 2008) to bring residents together. Residents preferred to keep themselves, either because of concerns about potential eviction, or because their work requirement meant they were too tired to participate in meetings or activities after working second and third shift jobs.

Redesigning Sydney’s Suburbs

The public housing image seared into the brains of Americans, the dysfunctional highrise, makes up only a small portion of the public housing stock in Australia. The initial construction of public housing was not slum clearance, but intentional greenfield development on the urban fringes. The Australian government employed the Radburn design, which situates housing around common yards and connecting pathways, rather

than the fronts of homes facing the street. Vehicle access to dwellings is in the form of cul-de-sacs off of main roads. The theory behind this arrangement was to separate vehicle and pedestrian traffic, and provide garden areas for residents. The reality is that vast common areas were poorly maintained and pedestrian underpasses were utilized by local drug dealers, and the design is regarded as a failure (Darcy 2013).

Figure 5. Traditional Public Housing in Minto



Public housing units in Sydney's suburban fringes have traditionally been row homes and small houses, with some walk-up apartments. As with many public housing sites, the process of residualisation has left them in a state of considerable disrepair, though the state of units seems to be less of a rhetorical driver for redevelopment than concern about neighborhood effects and social exclusion. In places such as Minto, which is in the final stages of redevelopment, the majority of the row homes have been

demolished and replaced by small houses. They are easily distinguishable from the large market rate homes that have luxury features, such as indoor-outdoor entertaining areas.

Figure 6. Redeveloped Mixed-Income Housing in Minto



Close to Sydney's CBD, Redfern-Waterloo continues to feature a number of highrise public housing buildings, as well as smaller walk-ups. The buildings are imposing, but aging, situated around green spaces where people continue to congregate and engage in public drinking. Flags and laundry hang from windows and several residents had bicycles stored on their balconies. The surrounding community has heavily gentrified, despite being the site of riots in 2004. HNSW has engaged in planning activities, but it is unclear what the timeline is for potential redevelopment, or what the final recommendation will be. In nearby Surry Hills stands Northcott Place, a collection of three highrise buildings that is sometimes referred to as "Suicide Towers." The apartments have small rooms with excellent views of the surrounding area, but the public

spaces are run down and dirty. A resident told me that at one point, the garbage chute in one of the buildings had garbage four stories high because of a broken door. She spent several days contacting various people at HNSW to have it fixed, but it was not until she threatened to call the media that the issue was addressed. Sydney's Inner City public housing sits on valuable land, and the gentrification happening around it shows that its presence is not a deterrent for potential high income residents.

Place Attachment and Protecting Home

A home community “provides a sense of physical and psychic security that comes with a familiar and dependable environment” (Logan and Molotch 2007:105). Most resident leaders in both Chicago and Sydney acknowledge the problematic aspects of their communities—violence, mental health issues, substance abuse, and maintenance—but it does not dampen their enthusiasm for wanting to remain there, or in the case of redevelopment, return to the neighborhoods that they called home for so many years. Despite a desire to stay in place, the resident population is largely disengaged in resistance to redevelopment. As a result, an important function of resident leaders is to advocate both broadly for the preservation of their communities, and on a small scale for individual tenants experiencing problems with their units or neighbors. Through this experience, they have gained knowledge and insight about the many challenges in their communities. Place attachment acts as a driver for leaders and frames their efforts during redevelopment.

Public housing communities have long been regarded as a home to violent crime, a vibrant drug trade, and prolific gang activity. Yet as sites of exclusion, they produce

residents who are staunchly protective of place, even in the absence of a cohesive community (Tester et al. 2011; Pattillo 2007). One thing missing from the conceptualization of redeveloping public housing into mixed-income communities is that residents of the neglected communities felt attached to them, and that moving on, even to nicer, newer apartments, might be difficult or even traumatic. Resident comments about reusing or collecting the bricks speak to the powerful attachment residents had to the built environment and location. Resident leaders have complicated, unromantic feelings about their communities. Those in Chicago both loved and endured the developments, but most importantly, the buildings belonged to them. Tenants in Sydney, who speak frankly about the challenges in their communities, fight to preserve still-standing buildings on the basis that they are home and they have a right to stay there.

The common mantra among resident leaders is that everyone deserves safe, decent, affordable housing. Time and again, residents used public forums to express that they wanted to stay in their current communities, where they felt comfortable and familiar with their surroundings. Part of this desire stems from the hyperlocal knowledge that residents have about gangs and crime, which will be discussed at length in another section of this chapter. More importantly, resident leaders in both cities continue to see strong bonds among remaining residents.

One such resident leader is Ross, a 68 year-old man who has been a tenant organizer in Waterloo for over 30 years, and who possesses a wealth of knowledge about international housing policy. He is highly critical of planning processes, regularly pointing out that people in government departments who are responsible for

implementing housing policy are wholly disconnected from actual residents and estates.

Despite significant changes in demographics and community infrastructure, he

acknowledged the ongoing sense of place in Waterloo:

The underlying sense of community is still strong. It's not as strong on the surface, but it's still there...The people, they sort of care for each other [because] they're people. They're not numbers in some bean counter's board game. This is why every so often you'll hear the academics carrying on about, and the government bureaucrats carrying on about "housing stock." And they carry on entirely. In their minds, humans and people don't exist. They have numbers on a board, and they forget the nexus between those numbers and people. It's not an asset on a balance sheet.

Linda echoed Ross's sentiments, though she no longer lived in the building for which she was an advocate. As an affordable housing resident living on Chicago's Uptown neighborhood, she had been instrumental in the fight to secure federal protections for her building and others like it. Due to what another resident called a "loophole" in the legislation, rents in the building rose above what Linda's subsidy supported. She moved into a senior building in 2012, but regularly visited her former home, attending meetings, and maintaining ties—"I spent over half my life in the building so the relationships that I've built with the other tenants, owners, and neighbors does not stop when I move out. They are very important relationships in my life."

Nearly everyone I spoke to cited place attachment and a sense of community as a motivator for continuing to fight. Annie is a spry 83 year-old woman who has lived in Lake Parc Place since it reopened in 1991. She is not part of the citywide resident leadership structure, but runs a tenant patrol group that operates in her building and its twin next door. There are five residents in each building who take daily two-hour shifts as "the eyes of the building for the manager." From 8:00 am to 10:00 pm, the volunteers

walk the building, making notes of any problems with or vandalism of the community and laundry rooms, stairwells, exit lights, hall lights, garbage chutes and other areas. Each day, she takes the final shift, from 8:00 to 10:00 pm, and she and her patrols regularly report back to the property management. Annie sees this work as integral to maintaining a good building:

There is a meeting once a month with the manager and all the tenant patrols to see how we can do it better. Anything that would hurt the property, we are to write down. They [management] write them up or talk to them. We let the management take care of that.

I asked her if she ever thought other residents thought the efforts of the tenant patrol were too strict. She responded “no, no. If you love where you live and love cleanliness where you live, you make that happen because you care where you live. We’re not here to see who is under. We’re a family.”

Acting in the best interests of a development as a whole can occasionally put resident leaders in a difficult position, despite what Annie thought. This is particularly likely if addressing a community-wide problem appears to pit neighbor against neighbor. Betty, a 55 year-old building representative in North Kenwood-Oakland, believes that CHA intentionally fails to enforce regulations, compromising the sustainability of buildings and quality of life for residents. Her efforts within her own building to create accountability cause occasional clashes with neighbors. When someone vandalized the laundry room, she wanted to work with management to determine who was at fault, much to the chagrin of a neighbor who thought it might have been an accident. Betty described the conversation with her neighbor as she tried to convince her that there should be consequences for the vandal:

How do the building people, the residents, the tenants see the non-consequences that was directed towards this particular individual? So she says, “well, I see what you’re saying, but then again, how you know it wasn’t an accident?” I *don’t*. But as a *rep*, the first thing we need to find out, which is what the property manager was telling us, how they need to look at it and check it out on the screen. See how it happened, and then take it from there. And then take the actions based on what they saw on the screen.

At a time when there was an undercurrent of paranoia in the building because of misinformation being spread about its future, Betty had to find the balance between maintaining the building and alienating other residents.

Creating a narrative that highlights the value of existing ties in public housing communities is an important aspect of leaders’ work. Though they strive to communicate the positive aspects of public housing, resident leaders are acutely aware of outsiders’ views. The next section considers territorial stigmatization and how leaders experience it.

Territorial Stigmatization

Public housing residents are uniquely bounded to place, meaning that it can be a challenge for outsiders to disentangle negative depictions of people and communities. The association of the two produces what Wacquant (2008) calls territorial stigmatization. Decades of disinvestment in public housing have left these communities, and others like them, in a state of advanced marginality, which is “a novel regime of sociospatial relegation and exclusionary closure” resulting from uneven economic development and the retrenchment of the welfare state (Wacquant 2008:2). The “blemish of place,” Wacquant argues, follows residents outside of the boundaries of their communities. It is a “dualization of the social and physical metropolis” related to personal indignity, organizational desertification, and economic disinvestment (2008:24).

Rather than attributing the community chaos to the actions of residents, Wacquant (2008) argues that it is the result of violence from above, which has three components: mass unemployment; relegation to decaying neighborhoods; and heightened stigmatization in daily life. Combined, these forces hasten decline and abandonment of both people and communities. As repositories for poor and deviant people, communities do not attract investment, while people who reside in those areas are viewed as unworthy of support. Wacquant suggests that geographic areas experiencing advanced marginality cease to be places and revert to being spaces, though this notion is challenged by resident leaders' ongoing place attachment. In the context of this study, as in Wacquant's conceptualization, Chicago's advanced marginality is organized around both ethnoracial and spatial categories. Sydney's advanced marginality is primarily based on geography, but supports Rhodes's (2012) finding that territorial stigmatization can be applied to areas that have high concentrations of white residents, rather than just those with predominantly minority populations.

Given that the concept of public housing conjures such strong imagery for outsiders, it is important to acknowledge Wacquant's three caveats about communities of advanced marginality. The first is that the ghetto is an institutional form, a "distinctive, spatially based, concatenation of mechanisms of ethnoracial closure and control" (2008:49). These spaces are not required to have high concentrations of poverty, but they are characterized by the presence of institutions that substitute and provide a buffer against the dominant institutions of society. The second caveat is a warning to not exoticize such communities, or suggest that those who dwell within are anything other

than ordinary people in particular circumstances. The final caveat that Wacquant suggests is arguably the most important to public housing—that these communities do not suffer from social disorganization, but rather are “organized differently in response to the relentless press of economic indifference, generalized social insecurity, abiding racial hostility or indifference, and political denigration” (2008:50). These points remind one that many public housing residents are simply people who are trying to survive in the challenging circumstances that have been created for them.

Creating the “Concrete Reservation”

The early years of public housing in Chicago have been called “paradise,” but from the outset, the location and construction of these communities segregated residents from other urban spaces. Between the initial, large-scale construction of public housing and the decision to deconcentrate poverty through mixed-income development, a transformation occurred in those communities that produced ideal conditions for territorial stigmatization. The neighborhoods became, as Wacquant puts it, “the product of an active process of institutional detachment and segregation...fostered by the decomposition of the public sector” (2008:224). In addition to businesses leaving these communities, public services declined, leaving infrastructure such as streets to crumble. Francine, a 57 year-old African American woman who has represented her South Side community for over 30 years, is more straightforward. “I always call CHA a ‘concrete reservation,’” she said, “‘cause that’s what it is.”

Many resident leaders felt that the decline of public housing buildings was due to willful neglect on the part of the housing authorities, who tampered with rent structures

that would have otherwise maintained the buildings. Francine said that it took nearly nine months to demolish her former home at Stateway Gardens because it was so solidly built. Despite the stout construction, the interior of the building suffered the same fate as so many others—poorly functioning elevators, broken or missing lightbulbs, and filthy stairwells and hallways. The building also had a succession of managers, some better than others, but none of whom had adequate resources to maintain a building of that size. One of Betty’s neighbors at Lake Parc Place lamented the repeated suggestions that her building needed to be rehabbed—“If you do preventative maintenance, you don’t have to ask for more money to rehab stuff. The building was beautiful and now it’s horrible and they say there’s no money to do those things.”

At Lathrop Homes, which is surrounded by a relatively affluent area on Chicago’s north side, an entire section of the development had been shut down and people relocated to the other side of the site. The argument for doing so was that the boilers responsible for heating the development had fallen into disrepair, but residents felt it was an intentional move. The vacant buildings were well-built and externally appeared to still be in good condition. Lathrop Homes was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2012, though the designation does not make the site immune to demolition. To residents, moving people around was unquestionably part of a strategy to slowly empty the building to the point that they lost representation and CHA could make the argument that there were no people left to return.

Financial disinvestment was not the only factor that isolated residents in public housing communities. Ross pointed out that a lack of supportive services left residents to

fend for themselves with little in the way of resources or capacity to address their circumstances.

When they shifted from being a supplier of affordable housing to a supplier of short-term housing of last resort, this led to ghettoization, the creation of ghettos of absolute need. Which then the needs are unmet, because there had not been a whole government approach.

The withdrawal of institutional resources that support both place and people combined to reinforce the stigma associated with public housing communities and merge the identities of residents and developments in the minds of outsiders.

Resident Perception of Territorial Stigmatization

Residential choice is a luxury that most public housing residents do not have.

While many residents are emotionally attached to their communities because of personal networks and the predictability of the social space, others are forced to make the best of it because they have no opportunity to relocate. Even if there was a more robust structure in place to respond to residents' neighborhood preferences, the dearth of available units and lengthy waiting lists in both cities prevent significant mobility. Current CHA residents wanting to transfer regularly reported at tenant services meeting that they wanted to move, but that CHA was not responsive to requests.

Some people want to move because of violence in their communities, but others simply want to relocate to areas with which they were familiar. Relocation denials were particularly frustrating for people who believed there were available units in their desired locations. It gives the impression of being trapped in place, creating a context in which residents cannot escape stigmatized places, even to other locations that have the same reputation, unless they do so with their own resources. Resident leaders, who have

regular interactions with other public housing stakeholders, acknowledge that the ongoing association with highly stigmatized places is central to resident experience.

As Pfeiffer (2006) noted, public housing residents are highly aware of narratives attached to their communities and themselves. Resident leaders want to change the stories of their communities. Not because they want to distance themselves from the stereotypically negative representations of their neighborhoods, but because they know that the story has always been far more complex than the one typically told. Their work follows the path of early resident activists who organized to address issues that no authoritative body wanted to take on: crime, drugs, gangs, and even maintenance. Still today, many of the leaders discussed working with an understanding of what it takes to survive in communities that remain isolated in many ways. Crime and other behaviors indicative of social disorder are gray areas in neighborhoods with few opportunities or when it is family members engaged in those activities. As they continue to fight to preserve their existing communities or claim space in new ones, they also work hard to gain respect for the diversity of the resident population, and, retroactively, for the “notorious” communities they come from.

Betty grew up in Robert Taylor Homes and moved into Lake Parc Place shortly after it opened as one of the city’s earliest mixed-income buildings in the early 1990s. It has been documented as a success, and model for creating a mixed-income community in a former public housing site (Rosenbaum et al. 1998). Betty said that at the time she moved in, she was employed at City Colleges and was not aware it was subsidized housing. By 2002, she noticed that the once well-maintained building had begun to

decline. Residents who had a Right to Return were being moved into the building from other developments at that time, and the rents for market rate and affordable renters jumped 200 percent. Market rate renters “fled the building,” but Betty’s recent decrease in income due to her retirement from City Colleges meant that she was eligible for lower rent and she was able to stay. From her perspective, it was one of many decisions that CHA made with little regard for resident success or the sustainability of their properties. Betty often pointed out that CHA was not “the real world,” and that attitudes about public housing residents are central to the way policies are implemented:

Traditionally, I do nothing. ‘Cause traditionally, what’s what we do in subsidized, public housing. We don’t do nothing. We’re not about nothing. We don’t read, we don’t write, we don’t work, we don’t cook, we don’t clean. We just a bunch of bums. *Traditionally*. But if your transformation supposed to have changed all that, it could have and it would have. Only thing [CHA] had to do was follow through. But I watched them intentionally not do that.

Lake Parc Place’s transition from two well-functioning mixed-income buildings to a site with limited resources and inconsistent maintenance was a catalyst for Betty’s involvement in tenant advocacy.

Unlike many other resident leaders, her frustration with CHA and suspicion that outsiders would always view public housing residents negatively led Betty to regularly threaten to quit. As a newer representative, she was more conflicted than most leaders. She pointed to the fact that many parents maintain public housing isolation by not exposing their children to life “off the block,” acknowledging aspects of truth in the stigma. At the same time, she was not interested in challenging the narrative as much as she was in maintaining access to safe, decent, affordable housing. Betty wanted young people to be informed and involved because “the city keeps going the way it’s going and

the young folk are not aware of what's happening, they won't know that shelter is soon gonna be out of their reach."

As the economic foundations of public housing communities crumbled, they also experienced the loss of a second-tier commercial economy that provided places to congregate, such as restaurants and entertainment facilities (Klinenberg 2002). Public spaces became areas in which to nurture social networks, something which is considered a positive use of space in other communities (Anderson 2004; Jackson 1987; Jacobs 1961). Sharon, a 56 year-old African American woman who formerly represented Henry Horner residents and currently works for CHA as a resident liaison, pointed out that these everyday interactions were not inherently negative, despite what outsiders think:

The problem is, or the culture is, is in public housing, we hang out in front of the building. We socialize that way. That's how we socialize. I'm standing outside, you walk around and start talking, somebody else come out, you know. It ain't about selling drugs, it's about hanging out.

As public housing transitions into mixed-income housing in her community, Sharon sees how pronounced the stigma associated with "normal" resident behavior is as it relates to use of public spaces. Pattillo (2007) points out that public housing tenants do not have outside private spaces of their own, such as patios, in which to socialize. Still, even innocent uses of public spaces are viewed negatively.

Narratives about public housing do not need to be seen personally to be believed. Daryl explained that when he announced he was moving to Minto, in Sydney's western suburbs, his friends in the Northern Beaches warned him that only "druggies, cheats, bludgers, and liars live there." Most of the people cautioning Daryl did not have any person experience with Minto, and he decided to make the move to be closer to his

children and grandchildren. Rather than feeling threatened, Daryl found that people in Minto “seemed to be more empathetic to the physical, mental, and emotional needs of others.” What is particularly striking about Daryl’s story is that he felt increasingly unsafe living in the more affluent Northern Beaches after two of his friends were killed while driving their cabs.

Many of the resident leaders grew up in public housing, and had children who moved into apartments of their own when they became adults. Generations of families lived in these communities as they declined. In the end, they endured violence, the physical decline of structures, and an almost total lack of support and resources from the housing authority. By this measure, time spent surviving “pissy hallways and broken elevators” earned residents the right to live in the new developments.

Experiencing Violence and Crime

The informal boundaries that geographically isolated residents produced hyperlocal knowledge and, for some, a world that spanned only a few blocks. The resultant place attachment was based not only on the affection for the buildings and streets where they lived their daily lives, but also the sense of safety that came with knowing from experience who was or was not a threat. This was particularly pronounced in Chicago, where leaders and other residents emphasized the right to return to specific geographic locations, but was evident among Sydney residents as well. Those who participated in the digital storytelling project were particularly forthcoming about how they felt about violence and threats in their communities.

Many of the people I interviewed had experience with violence, and hearing their stories threw into sharp relief that territorial stigmatization produced by high crime is often accompanied by fear and loss. Residents of these communities have a dual challenge of confronting external stigma while processing personal trauma. If this complicated the nature of place attachment, however, it did not destroy it. Similar to what Tester et al. (2011) found with public housing residents in Atlanta, the strength of social ties within public housing communities provided residents I spoke with a counterbalance to violence that may have otherwise diminished place attachment.

Safety was a regular issue at tenant meetings in Chicago, and was particularly salient for people who had moved from one area of the city to another. Though 2012 was a particularly violent year for the city as a whole, with over 500 homicides recorded, living in unfamiliar surroundings heightened residents' feelings about security. Many people who had been temporarily relocated while their former communities were being redeveloped, as well as those who had taken vouchers, expressed fear about where they were currently living. In addition to fear about living in violent communities, residents were also frustrated that CHA and other authorities appeared to do little to respond to their concerns.

There was no shortage of reports of violence, with many experiences mirroring that of a woman who shared at a public meeting that her grandson had been murdered in front of her home. She wanted to move "to save my [surviving] 16 year-old grandson. He's not from around that area, so it's not safe for him." The woman felt that lack of knowledge about the area, including how to navigate around "25 Puerto Ricans selling

drugs,” put her grandson in peril, and when she requested to move, CHA gave her 48 hours to find another place to live. Whitney, a former resident leader living in Oakland, put her take on safety in the community simply – “I’m safe where I am. I know my surroundings. You can’t move people to other neighborhoods.” Though Whitney personally felt secure in her current location, her 17 year-old grandson, who had recently moved in with her from another neighborhood, was killed in front of the building one day after I spoke with her. News reports about the incident, as they often do, cited that he had no known gang affiliations, and questioned the motive for his murder, but there were no ready answers available.

There were multiple complaints about areas where there was “known” criminal activity that residents felt neither the CHA nor the police had addressed. A woman from Washington Park said

My home was burglarized by 10 and 16 year-old youth. I have received no help from anyone. We feel unsafe. I’ve been denied a transfer request to move. There’s lots of drugs and crime. I guess myself and my children have to be dead for someone to help me.

Francine, who represents that region, noted that many residents were being victimized in that area, including some in their own homes. She had police reports and felt that the police knew about the situation, but was at loss to explain why nothing had been done. In at least one case, in the Bridgeport neighborhood, it was guests of longtime residents threatening new public housing tenants. A leader from that community raised the issue at a public meeting, calling for more security and noting “because people have been there so long, they think it’s ok if their guests cause trouble.”

Representations of the violence that continues to occur in neighborhoods where public housing residents currently live were on display at the Stateway residents' reunion in the summer of 2012. A significant number of people wore t-shirts commemorating murdered family members or friends to the picnic. They had a distinct design to them, prompting me to wonder if there was a single store or artist that people frequented to have shirts made. Each shirt had a photo of the deceased and his/her name and dates airbrushed. It was noteworthy that the consistent format included the month, day, and year of birth, but only the year of death (e.g. "March 16, 1992 – 2009"). The vast majority of shirts memorialized people who had died before the age of 25. Many other residents arrived wearing t-shirts commemorating the demolished buildings, bearing phrases such as "35th Street, Forever #1" and "Redevelopment My Ass. Not In My Heart." Through the shirts, one could see the association between the violence that contributes to the stigma of public housing communities, and the ongoing attachment to public housing. Here, place was mourned alongside people.

People who were not experiencing immediate threats to their safety discussed violence in their communities very matter-of-factly. As people shared updates about their lives at the picnic, mentions of family members who had been killed elicited little more than brief condolences. One of Francine's young nieces told me that she missed her old neighborhood because it was great, but that her family had to move "because people kept getting beat up or killed." She happily shared that she was not concerned that anyone would break into her family's new home because they had multiple security systems. To outsiders, violence is a defining characteristic of current and former public housing

communities, but for many residents, it is another aspect of their everyday lives from which they are able to disassociate themselves.

The ordinary nature of conversations about violence in communities where public housing residents live was highlighted in a conversation I had with Lauren after we attended a CHA safety meeting in North Kenwood. We had joined Betty for the meeting, which was a police briefing for area property managers and service providers. The police officer listed the four homicides that had occurred in the area since the last meeting before going through assorted property and drug offenses. Betty protested that the same crimes were committed every month because policies and procedures designed to prevent them were not enforced. While I and others in the room contemplated this very practical issue, Lauren, as she told me later, was marveling at the nonchalance with which four homicides were discussed. The reaction showed the relativity of a given community's stigma around crime.

If residents in Chicago treated violence as the product of overall disinvestment and endemic to the city as a whole, those in Sydney regarded it specifically as a function of housing policy. A change in eligibility criteria beginning in 2005 gave preference to people with complex issues, including mental health problems, substance abuse issues, and criminal histories. Elderly and long-term residents felt, and in some cases, were, threatened by the newcomers. Just as in Chicago, fear mixed with frustration about the perception that victimized residents were the ones who had to make accommodations while there was little or no recourse for people by whom they felt threatened. Ross

pointed to this demographic shift as a source of community destabilization and decreased quality of life:

What was originally affordable housing with potential for tenure as long as you wanted it, now it's housing of last resort, rationed to people with extremely low means. Not just economic, but social, physical, mental, health-wise, mental health in particular. So you complete change in the public housing community, complete change in the demographic, in all cases driven by or ordained by the government.

Charmaine said it produced an “us and them” dynamic between long-time residents and people that moved in following the change in criteria, which changed people's attitudes about their homes and complicated tenant organizing efforts.

And there's a lot of angst that happens 'cause you know, obviously if you put a whole heap of people with really complex issues in one tight space, um, that can cause all sorts of angst. And especially among the elderly people who are still there. And it's getting them to understand, 'cause they all think that they should...as much as we try to reinforce the message, housing can't evict people, only the tribunal can evict people. And also that if you are going to evict someone just because they've got complex issues, where are you going to house them? They deserve a house as well. They may be a bit problematic to live next door to, but what's the alternative?

Two of the Sydney residents, Anita and Desmond, used their digital stories to emphasize the fear that accompanied the “us and them” dynamic that Charmaine discussed. Anita, a slight, older woman living in Redfern-Waterloo, told the story of a man who threatened to kill her while standing at her front door, and again while speaking to her through her kitchen window. She called the police and the man was eventually arrested, and a condition of his release was that he stay away from both Anita and the area. Despite this, he still visits the building on occasion, prompting her to look into obtaining an order of protection. When it appeared likely that it would be decided in his favor, she decided to seek accommodation elsewhere. Anita appreciated the sense of

belonging and connection to supportive neighbors and community workers in the area, and her story communicates personal insecurity tinged with outrage that she and others like her are the ones who will be forced from their homes.

Desmond had similar concerns about his area, despite being a newer housing tenant. Mental illness prompted him to move into public housing, despite hesitation rooted in negative stories he had heard. Incidents including theft of his personal property as he moved in and inebriated neighbors trying to gain access to his apartment confirmed the impressions he held about the area before moving in. Though Desmond eventually connected with another resident over a broken oven, he found the apparent willingness of HNSW to allow properties to decline by not addressing crime disheartening. He drew a connection between housing conditions and resident troubles, saying, “all humans have a right and deserve a home. If the government does not want difficulties with Housing Commission, then fund it properly and fund services that help people stay there without causing problems.”

Like Desmond, other residents in both cities pointed out that, in addition to overt violence, crime taking place in public housing communities is/was often overlooked, contributing to the overall decline of the built environment that precipitated demolition. Francine pointed out, “when you don’t enforce the rules, that’s when things fall apart. If I don’t pay my rent for two months, you put me out, but if I’m dealing drugs out of my apartment, it’s not enforced.” A resident of Altgeld Garden Apartments on Chicago’s far South Side used her time at a Tenant Services meeting to complain about the loud music her neighbors had played continuously for seven years. She had reported the problem to

both site security and the Chicago Police Department, but neither responded.

Representatives from CHA told her to speak with the head of security, but there is little to suggest that the resolution of the problem would extend beyond this specific incident or impact other residents who have similar issues. The inability to find peace at home was a constant source of tension.

Lack of attention to criminal activity continues to be a major issue in Sydney, where residents reported that nonpayment of rent was the only activity that resulted in eviction. The two-year effort to get “major ice dealers¹” evicted from her building is what prompted Catherine to become a resident leader.

All my neighbors around here are very elderly, or they were at that stage. And these people used to cause trouble and these old people used to come to me and say “you know, what do we do? Bloke knocked on me door at two o’clock last night.” And so I used to go to police meetings and we jumped up and down and carried on for ages before we eventually got a, it seemed to me coincidence, we eventually got a new superintendent, local area commander, who actually came to me and said, “ok, do you know the names and the addresses of these people?” I said “I’ve been trying to tell you other fellas that and they take it, and nothing.” She took it and a week later they were gone. How coincidental it was, I don’t know. But yeah. And they kept saying “it’s too hard, we can’t catch ‘em in the act.” I can catch ‘em in the act.

The inability or unwillingness of both the housing authorities and police to take meaningful steps to address crime and violence were an ongoing source of frustration for resident leaders.

Potential for Profit for Private Developers and Stakeholders

There is little question that for decades, the territorial stigma associated with public housing communities was sufficient to “repel investment, [and] work to justify increased ‘structural violence’ from above such as institutional withdrawal, intensified

¹ “Ice” is a particularly strong and addictive form of methamphetamine.

surveillance and policing...further limiting prospects for social mobility” (Rhodes 2012:686). However, mixed-income strategies designed to deconcentrate poverty in neighborhoods of advanced marginality are market-driven and dependent upon stakeholders with exchange-value orientations to place (Chaskin and Joseph 2012). The shift in approach to these communities, including developers’ and homeowners’ willingness to make speculative investments, demonstrates that even the most stigmatized places can hold promise under certain circumstances. Returning public housing residents are also expected to be remade by the influx of investment and resources, adopting middle class values and practices and adhering to the new norms that accompany the arrival of higher-income neighbors. Residents’ challenges during redevelopment go beyond their ability to access new spaces in their former communities or become integrated with new neighbors.

Territorial Embodiment

The three components of structural violence related territorial stigmatization according to Wacquant (2008) are mass unemployment, relegation to decaying neighborhoods, and heightened stigmatization in daily life that is tied to class and ethnic origin and neighborhood of residence. As public housing has been redeveloped, two of these three components have been significantly altered. One of the conditions of residence in several mixed-income developments in Chicago is maintaining at least part-time employment, while obtaining employment in Sydney jeopardizes one’s ability to retain a housing subsidy. The decay of neighborhoods, meanwhile, is precisely what the policy addresses. Many former public housing communities are now more economically

diverse and boast new built environments and amenities. In many cases, however, public housing residents continue to carry the stigma of their former communities, even as they reside in new dwellings that have been built on the same site. This raises questions about the power of mixed-income policies to remake both places and people. It also challenges the assumption that places must maintain a material form and geographic location to preserve meaning and analytic power. In this section, I argue that demolished public housing places retain analytic power by transferring stigma from the material form to the bodies of residents, producing what I call “territorial embodiment.”

Resident leaders have complex feelings about redevelopment, creating a spectrum that ranges from tentative support for “positive gentrification” to open hostility over what is perceived as a land grab (Chaskin and Joseph 2012). The new relationship between residents and place changes the context in which resident leaders do their work. At the same time they are trying to find their role in new communities, the people they represent are confronting new challenges. Almost all of the leaders acknowledge that the reputation of their housing tenure is not as easily dismantled as their former homes. The ongoing stigma experienced by residents in this new era of public housing has been well documented (Chaskin and Joseph 2012), but the literature has not acknowledged that it is not simply something that follows residents from one location to another.

Permentier et al. argue that “it appears very difficult to change the history of a neighborhood, and therefore changing the reputation of an area may be a great challenge” (2008: 852). Yet in the case of many former public housing communities, significant efforts are underway to physically and symbolically transform places from one thing into

another. Gieryn states that “place has a plentitude, a completeness, such that the phenomenon is analytically and substantively destroyed if the three [location, material form, and meaningfulness] become unraveled or one of them forgotten” (2000:466). The material form may have changed with the redevelopment of public housing, but the meaningfulness has not been forgotten. Wacquant (2008) has argued that geographic areas experiencing advanced marginality cease to be places and revert to being spaces. None of these analyses fully take into account the important function that public housing communities played, and continue to play, in residents’ lives, regardless of where they live.

Despite the profound neglect of public housing, residents still continue to display strong attachment to these locations. Leaders fight actively for tenants to be able to return to the rebuilt communities that sit on the sites of their former homes. Territorial embodiment happens at the point when a community is transitioning, and when former residents are making serious claims to new spaces. Here, arguments for the “right to return” can take on a passionate, even desperate tone. The sentiment of place attachment personalizes claims to a new community, and may make it easier for outsiders to associate residents with the specter of public housing in an ongoing way. The stigma that follows tenants into an old neighborhood with a new built environment is always at the forefront of resident leaders’ minds.

Resident Leaders and Redevelopment

Long before the first bulldozer arrives onsite, public housing stakeholders new and old come together to plan future communities. The decision to demolish and rebuild

has, with a few exceptions, been made by the time these conversations take place. The roles that residents play during the planning process are varied. Some, like Francine, sit on working groups. Others, like Ross, co-lead trainings of housing staff. The role that resident leaders play, and the relationships that they have with other redevelopment stakeholders, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four, but their efforts during the process are important to helping other tenants carve out a place in new communities.

In Chicago, the perception among resident leaders was that variance between what returning CHA tenants were able to access was somewhat dependent on the strength of the local representatives. As Francine described it:

With the Plan for Transformation, the reason why it's so messed up is everybody got something different. Some people are people-serving and some are self-serving. Some people took a few dollars under the table...a few dollars can't help me. Don't give me nothing, help my people. Because the more people you help but me, what happens to my neighbor that had the same elevators, we walked up the same dark, pissy hallways, ok? So you helping me? Can't help me, you help my neighbor, you help my neighbor, that's helping me.

She made no secret of the fact that she felt some resident leaders sold out their communities for some degree of personal gain. Francine took great pride in the fact that CHA residents of Park Boulevard, the mixed-income community now on the site of Stateway Gardens, had apartments the same size as their market rate neighbors. As one of the more outspoken and well-known resident, she felt she had used her position to successfully stake a claim for returning residents.

Those whose communities are in the early stages of redevelopment, such as Charmaine, who lives in Sydney's Inner City, already have concerns about the way the housing authority is trying to engage residents. Consultations about housing aesthetics

mask many realities about redevelopments, while allowing developers to report that they sought and received resident approval for aspects of their plans. She described the approach that HNSW took during an early phase of master planning.

Housing wandered around with these lovely pictures of lovely new unit blocks and sort of said to people “would you like to live in a place like this?” when they’re living in a run-down dump at the moment, and they go “yeah!” And so then housing combined that information to say “people are really supporting the redevelopment.” And it’s like do they really understand, you know, that there will be less properties here and they might not even get to live in one of those? And so, I think some of the tactics used were a bit shonky.²

In situations like this, it is incumbent upon the resident leaders to communicate what these consultations are really trying to accomplish. It requires leaders to decipher information that comes out of housing authorities. They then try to build capacity among residents to resist redevelopment if possible.

Even leaders who have the best interests of residents at heart can find themselves in difficult positions during redevelopment. Sharon recognized that residents were responsible for some of the failings of public housing buildings, and as someone responsible for selecting CHA tenants to live in a mixed-income development, she felt the tension of trying to serve residents and establish a solid community:

When I was on the committee, it wasn’t easy. It wasn’t easy. I couldn’t stop the Horner residents because they had a right to go back. But everybody else I was really strict about it and tried to get them to understand that this community can’t be run like we ran our developments. They not gonna take this, they gonna put you out on the street. So we have to do some adjustments and it takes time.

The combination of her history as a resident leader and current position as a CHA liaison gave Sharon some unique insight about redevelopment, and how residents, and other leaders, needed to evolve in order to thrive in the new public housing climate. She

² Dishonest or suspect.

displayed strong affection for and attachment to her community, but acknowledged that the stigma associated with public housing bore some truth. Residents, in her view, needed to do their part in the redevelopment process if they wanted higher-income neighbors and other stakeholders to see them as something more than people from the projects.

One of the challenges of leasing units in mixed-income developments to public housing residents is that the CHA sometimes has difficulty locating people. It is here that resident leaders can be valuable, because they have continued to maintain social networks. However, they feel under-utilized, with CHA instead relying on contracted firms to locate residents who have a right to return. Betty thought this was another strategy employed by CHA to maintain chaos among residents and deprive them of their right to return. Moving people and disrupting their place-based networks was key to this:

You're dispersing and you're dividing the residents. And as you dividing the community or the residents, you're not getting the services that you need because nobody can get in touch with nobody. Can't nobody get in touch with nobody because nobody know where they are. But go and call Francine, well, she can tell you were someone's at.

In losing track of residents during periods of displacement, service providers cannot adequately prepare them for residency in the new community. As a result, people may arrive employed, but have a host of other issues that prevent them from quickly adopting the normative behaviors expected of residents. Heavy caseloads, underdeveloped processes, and short timelines meant that social service providers faced significant challenges locating and working with residents, which providers said was complicated by residents' lack of trust in CHA and other institutions (Joseph 2010).

Many new sites have work requirements, drug testing, and housekeeping inspections in addition to first time responsibility for utility bills such as electricity and gas. Given that, leaders were concerned that the burden of personal transformation was too great for many residents to carry with the limited support and preparation they were offered. Francine, who always speaks quickly and passionately, was particularly frustrated when she said:

You say that people need to lift themselves up, but you don't know about people pulling themselves up by their bootstraps. So why are you going to condemn your people? You didn't have to [do] drug testing. Some people thought they had a right to return regardless, but one of your kids might have to take a drug test, and if there is marijuana in their system, the CHA will be in a hurry to get you out, regardless of if you have the right to return.

Sharon shared Francine's sentiment, and placed some of the responsibility for personal transformation on CHA and the service providers they work with:

It's all in the planning. You have to get people ready and prepared. Just can't tear down a building and automatically just throw them in, all of them. Now if you have one that you put over here, they can kinda, you know, learn how to interact and engage. But if you put all us there together, you'll have a party.

Having a voice in remaking place has been a defining aspect of Jen's experience during the redevelopment of Airds Bradbury in Sydney's Campbelltown area. She praised the working group for their responsiveness, but was quick to point out that she thought the housing team working there were unique. When redevelopment began, there were particular aspects of the community that existing residents wanted retained, including the shopping center and a pond that they worked to clean up. She said:

Because they could've easily changed this all around, moved the shopping center to somewhere else in the estate, changed everything, put roads through in different ways, but they listened to us and kept the heart of the community, which was what we wanted. So seeing that, I mean, it's a huge boost to the ego, and the

chain reaction of that is really residents are coming back and saying “ok, you listened to me with this, will you listen to me with this one?”

There is little doubt that the influence over the built environment kept some residents engaged and connected to the community, but they still were not given the opportunity to suggest rehabilitation over demolition. Jen also felt that HNSW staff that were not on the development team did not treat residents like human beings and disregarded their opinions. Beyond redevelopment, residents in Airds and other communities still had to contend with a stigma that followed them into their new homes.

Resident Perception of Territorial Embodiment

Public housing redevelopment was supposed to change both lives and communities. It has accomplished both for better or worse. There is an emphasis on private space and middle class behavior in new communities that presents challenges that residents encounter on a daily basis. Mixed-income housing policies often yield a net loss of units and residents who return are in the economic, if not racial, minority. Expectations are placed on residents to fit in with new neighbors, though they have limited preparation and varying capacities to do so. Type of residence, ability to access site amenities, and other markers make it easy to distinguish residents by housing tenure. Territorial stigma is something that follows people as they move through the world, but ties them to an existing place. In this case, the territorial stigma meets people in the same geographic location, where they embody traditional public housing communities that no longer physically exist. Resident leaders have observed the ongoing stigma and work hard to help others negotiate these new circumstances.

Experiencing Territorial Embodiment in Chicago

The perception among resident leaders is that community newcomers look down on public housing residents, even if they are neighbors. The tension was evident to Sharon, who thought that both market rate and public housing residents entered mixed-income housing with inaccurate assumptions:

Everybody is so fake dream at first. So the homeowners come in, get sold by the developer [that] all the brothers are gone, all the people are gone. “You have a few low income families.” People think of low income families and public housing families as two different people. It’s all the same [laughs]. They just people. And the public housing residents are like “they trying to take over our community.”

The attraction of Westhaven Park, according to Sharon, is easy access to the Loop and close proximity to the United Center. A lack of transparency about the true nature of the community was a source of discord across tenure groups. At one point, furniture was removed from the lobby of the development’s midrise building because of complaints about people “hanging out.” The obvious policing of public housing residents in their own homes made them resentful of their neighbors, which reinforces the transfer of stigma from place to person, and hinders the advancement of the social goals that mixed-income housing promises.

Though residents of mixed-income developments in Chicago are not allowed to have elected representation, they frequently attended tenant meetings and complained about discrimination from private property managers and market rate residents. Many of the site rules are different for public housing residents. In one case, a resident of Parkside of Old Town, which is replacing Cabrini-Green in the city’s near north, reported that public housing residents were denied keys to storage and exercise rooms, as well as to

certain building entrances. He felt the different access made it easy to identify public housing residents, and said that “they have rules for us and we don’t know what they are. We have no representation, but they have condo boards.”

Experiencing Territorial Embodiment in Sydney

Resident experience of territorial embodiment in Sydney was similar, and in some ways more pronounced. In Chicago most of the replacement housing is multi-unit and much of the difference between market rate and subsidized units, including finishes and furnishings, is only apparent once you enter a property. By contrast, in places such as Minto, in Sydney’s western suburbs, the size and higher-quality exteriors of private homes clearly separate them from the small HNSW dwellings that sprinkle the site. Charmaine visited Minto shortly before I interviewed her, and noted the obvious distinction, as well as the effect it might have on residents:

[Minto] just has that kind of “public housing” look, whereas at least before when they were sort of all in it together so to speak, you didn’t feel that you were an embarrassment to the neighborhood. But now it’s like they stick out like anything, the public housing properties, and you think “oh, God, the stigma that must be attached to these people now.” At least before the stigma was just against the whole suburb, it wasn’t against particular houses.

The “One Minto” branding retained the area’s original name, but there was no mistaking the fact that the area was being remade for higher income homeowners, and not to merely deconcentrate poverty in a remote suburb. In fact, only 30 percent of the new community (360 units) is expected to be public housing, while over 800 households were relocated, primarily to other areas that have high levels of concentrated poverty. For those who remain, obvious identification of a resident’s housing tenure by the size and quality of one’s home ensures continued association with the place’s former identity.

Although Jen had a positive experience with her redevelopment team in Airds, she said that residents still struggled to overcome the stigma of their community. Like Minto, the goal for Airds Bradbury is to have a housing mix that includes on 30 percent public housing. She felt that even people who are required to work with residents do not see them as human beings as a result of the area's history.

It's been a huge challenge breaking that down and changing the reputation of this community. We had a reputation that was very bad, and that's because we're public housing. We had a lot of issues with the police, and as much as we still have those problems and those challenges, we don't have the high crime rate that we used to have. It's been a huge challenge trying to change that and trying to change people's perceptions of us who don't live here or who don't live in public housing.

Much of the effort in challenging perceptions of public housing residents falls to the leaders, who are comfortable speaking to diverse audiences and articulating the value of public housing. The absence of strong resident leadership among younger generations is particularly concerning to leaders in both Chicago and Sydney because once current leaders become elderly, there may be no one to fight on behalf of the community. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Leadership Efforts to Challenge Stigma

Leaders work to dispel stereotypes by engaging in public activities. In Airds, for instance, residents have entered a float in the Fischer's Ghost parade, winning five of the six years they have been involved. Jen said it's a way to get the message out. At the festival, she points to their success and tells people "this is public housing, these are the things we do in or community. If you'd like to, come visit us, come see us, talk to us." Picnics are held at Westhaven that Sharon said are designed to give people the

opportunity to “understand each other’s race and class” and show that all residents want the same thing.

Leaders work hard to address the stigma that follows public housing residents into new homes and new communities. It is telling that they have limited access to new places and continue to do their work in the remaining run-down spaces in their neighborhoods. Ever the optimist, Betty thinks that it is a calculated effort on the part of housing authorities to maintain chaos among residents and open the door for new parties to lay claim to public housing communities. “At the end of the day you have to make sure that you can’t tell the people that live in subsidized housing that ‘you all did a good job. You moved on.’ You got to make these people look bad, and that’s what I see.”

Conclusion

Narratives about public housing neighborhoods – that they are violent, broken, unsalvageable – are easily applied to the people who live there. Residents are so closely associated with space that they seem to share both history and identity. The construction of the public housing tenant over time contributes to the devaluation of neighborhoods themselves, supporting the conclusion that demolition is the proper solution to concentrated poverty. Because they are so closely identified with the developments, blame for the decline of the communities is easily placed on their shoulders, shifting focus and responsibility away from policies and institutions that produced the deplorable conditions.

Resident leaders understand how narrative twists tie them to their neighborhoods, and serve as tools for housing authorities and the private developers that work with them

to displace them from their neighborhoods. They are acutely aware that many of the problems in their developments were produced by years of neglect by housing authorities and lax enforcement of policies and procedures, but know that common perceptions of residents around work ethic, education, safety and other things allow that neglect to be swept under the rug. Many tenants still have to contend with significant maintenance issues, such as lack of heat, bed bugs, inadequate access for people with disabilities, and poorly functioning locks. Facing these challenges without the social support that they received from neighbors in public housing and with the belief that the housing authority does not care about them is traumatic for some residents. If they have been lucky enough to return to new units in their old neighborhoods, many perceive constant surveillance, and withdraw from, rather than attempt to engage new neighbors.

At first glance, resident involvement in the redevelopment process may look like an expression of right to the city. Holding a seat on a working group or pairing with housing authority employees to educate stakeholders about resident interests could be considered participation in the decision-making process that produces urban space. However, the right to participate is only part of Lefebvre's concept of right to the city. As will be discussed in the next chapter, state and corporate actors possess nearly all of the power to make decisions about the future and nature of spaces in public housing communities, stripping residents of the right to appropriation (Purcell 2002). Resident voices, which represent use value, are not central informants of the conceptualization of new urban spaces. Instead of playing any significant role in determining how housing

policy will be implemented on the local level, they are consulted on the details of individual properties.

There is no doubt that certain former public housing sites are more conducive to successful narrative change than others, likely because of their advantageous locations close to each city's central business district and cultural attractions. The problem for public housing residents is that the stigma becomes something that is attached to them, instead of the places they used to live. It is a new dimension of place that is unique to places like public housing, which can be characterized by territorial stigmatization, but cease to exist in material form.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESIDENT LEADERSHIP AND THE POWER TO ELEVATE KNOWLEDGE

It is a challenging time to be a resident leader in public housing. The role of a leader is to advocate on behalf of his or her community, work to empower other residents to advocate for themselves, and disseminate knowledge to various public housing stakeholders. As public housing undergoes restructuring, and stakeholders with different orientations to urban space drive placemaking, resident leaders find themselves operating at a unique intersection of citizenship and community. Public renters have limited access to increasingly consumer-based and propertied citizenship, but are expected to assume some of the responsibilities of the state to build community (Herbert 2005; Cairns 2003; Lepofsky and Fraser 2003). This despite the fact that “in places that are wrought with the problems of an alienating modernity (such as impoverished urban areas), it is apparent that community is faltering or lacking” (Lepofsky and Fraser 2003:134).

Public housing residents’ current status as citizens is reflected in their access to decision-making processes in redevelopment. The resident body as a whole is primarily engaged through consultations that emphasize aesthetic choices, such as whether units will have tile or carpeting, and if patios are more desirable than balconies. They are rarely invited to provide input on issues such as tenure mix or relocation, which would inform how policies are implemented locally. The privatization of public housing management has introduced new stakeholders, prompting a shift to hyperlocal relationship building

and negotiation with people in their individual communities. In the past, leaders could focus joint efforts on the housing authorities, which are entities of the state that were responsible for the whole of the public housing portfolio. Now their work must address both policy shifts at the state level and local implementation efforts by primarily for-profit entities. The presence of the latter reinforces citizenship as “a relationship within the market for services” (Cairns 2003:110).

Resident leaders are increasingly cut out of governance structures, particularly in mixed-income communities. Some argue that leaders’ methods are antiquated, overly emphasizing their experiences with former housing authority administrations and the state rather than the private stakeholders that shape the urban landscape. This chapter examines how resident leaders established themselves and how they are navigating a system in which citizenship and a right to the city are now negotiated with both state and private actors. I explore leaders’ efforts to participate in redevelopment activities beyond aesthetic consultations and preserve public housing under the conditions of territorial embodiment. Finally, I consider the future of resident leadership, which is threatened not only by the shift in public housing policy, but also the failure of a new generation of leaders to materialize.

Citizenship and Participation in Neoliberal Urban Development

Public housing redevelopment in both Chicago and Sydney is characterized by the neoliberal remaking of urban space. It has introduced private developers, economic development and higher income residents to spaces that had been defined by advanced marginality and territorial stigmatization. The neoliberal reframing of not just public

housing, but urban spaces more broadly, profoundly impacts residents' experiences and access to citizenship. As resident experience shifts from territorial stigmatization to territorial embodiment and their relationship with place becomes more tenuous, it is important to consider how neoliberalism is defined. It is also necessary to understand the role community plays in resisting or reinforcing the market-oriented conceptualization of citizenship.

Defining Neoliberalism

Wacquant characterizes neoliberalism as project of state-crafting, at the center of which is an institutional core that “consists of an articulation of state, market, and citizenship that harnesses the first to impose the stamp of the second onto the third” (2012:71). In defining neoliberalism this way, he merges aspects of the neo-Marxist, market rule conception and the Foucaultian governmentality approach. Market rule emphasizes state retrenchment in the form of significant cuts in expenditures for public services. It also supports privatization, shifting responsibility to private sector actors who have the opportunity to accumulate capital while delivering services. The definition draws on governmentality in that stateless mechanisms of ruling are reproduced throughout society through conduct. Not only are people governing themselves, but it underscores personal responsibility for adherence to norms and, ultimately, success.

Mixed-income redevelopment embodies the concept of neoliberalism in public housing communities. Internationally, states are retreating from building traditional public housing and shifting the financial and managerial responsibility to private developers and management companies. At the same time, higher income residents new

to these communities are being tasked with modeling “appropriate” middle class behavior for public housing tenants. These public housing tenants, in turn, self-police in new developments in an attempt to avoid both notice and eviction. As will be demonstrated below, their primary focus remains on the state and how to secure rights through those channels.

“Responsible” Citizenship Under Neoliberalism

The notion of neoliberal citizenship that is consumer-based and propertied “is always connected to space and place. While one acts as a citizen of a sovereign power, this power is always defined through place (both representational and material)” (Lepofsky and Fraser 2003:130). This does not necessarily mean a residential connection to place, instead emphasizing a capital relationship. Lepofsky and Fraser (2003) suggest that there are three categories of citizens to consider when examining power relations in urban placemaking: flexible citizens, such as external stakeholders who have the ability to make claims at multiple levels and always play a role in decision-making; durable citizens, who have a fixed identity based on locality; and non-citizens, who lose any claims to space through non-involvement or resistance. In the case of public housing and redevelopment, stakeholders such as housing authorities, property developers, and market rate (especially homeowner) residents, are flexible citizens. Public housing residents are essentially durable citizens, tied to place, but with limited access to “the collective discursive practices that legitimate one’s claim to participate in placemaking” (Lepofsky and Fraser 2003:134). Furthermore, through territorial embodiment, residents continue to

represent a “failed” community, meaning that they may have lost the privilege of placemaking.

Citizenship as a performative act is an interesting concept as it relates to public housing residents. They cannot access citizenship through property ownership or economic interests, but through redevelopment processes they are expected to participate in civic projects and be better, more upstanding people than the rest of the population. Lepofsky and Fraser connect participation in community building activities to citizenship and a right to the city. The right to the city is the right to meaningfully participate in the shaping of urban spaces, and Lepofsky and Fraser argue that those

who build community do so because they are responsible citizens and therefore have legitimate rights to the city. Those who deviate from community-building—itsself ideologically constructed as populist and democratic even while being generated by well-endowed foundations that have accrued mass wealth from capitalist expansion—are interpolated as part of that class of underserving poor. Undeserving, in this case, of place-making, even in places they might call home. (2003:130)

Resident leaders can be seen as responsible citizens though their participation is at odds with their position as durable citizens of failed communities. Beyond that, their profile as “community stars” may weaken the broader social framework for participation, as other stakeholders come to see them as definitive voices of the community (Cairns 2003).

In public housing redevelopment, residents granted the right to return may be invited into the physical location but experience ongoing social exclusion. The right to be full residents of the space is dependent on their willingness to be “actively involved,” but in ways sanctioned by the housing authority, private or community management companies, and condo associations. Resident leaders, I argue, are not actively involved in

the “right” ways. Instead, they challenge the premise for redevelopment, expose contradictions in housing authority plans, and demand equal participation in site governance. It is in this context that leaders develop their identities and structure their activities.

Becoming a Resident Leader

Resident leadership is a full-time job. As liaisons to the housing authority, advocates for residents, planners, and educators, leaders are required to occupy many roles. Their reasons for taking up leadership positions in their communities are as varied as the tasks they perform, ranging from curiosity about conditions in their developments to a desire to challenge the status quo of management and existing leadership. A selection of brief personal histories illustrates what drew these individuals to pursue active leadership, and provides a lens through which to view their current strategies.

Interest in Local Changes and Development

Implementation of mixed-income housing policies creates profound change in public housing communities. The neighborhoods have been changing in smaller ways for decades, producing both curiosity and concern in residents about what the future holds. Most reflect on the changes and move on, but for some, their interest in community change served as a catalyst to become resident leaders. Recognizing that information about redevelopment was not readily available and feeling marginalized as a result prompted these residents to actively seek ways to increase their knowledge and explore avenues for protecting their communities. An initial interest in gathering information has transformed into more meaningful participation in public housing communities for Jen,

Betty and Ross. Each of them became involved gradually. As Ross put it, “it’s a bit like catching a cold...First thing you know is you got the damn thing, and you spend the rest of your life trying to get rid of it.”

Jen is a 55 year-old woman living in Airds Bradbury, in Sydney’s far southwest suburbs. She noticed that there was a communication problem between housing and residents when they started “improving the estate,” so when HNSW requested volunteer street representatives, she took the opportunity. Residents were not receiving information about redevelopment, “and I thought, well, this was an obvious way of being able to find out stuff that was going on.” She laughed when she said that being a street rep was easy because there were only four houses on her street, but it connected her to the redevelopment team, with whom she went on to build a strong working relationship. Jen had been volunteering at the local school, but slowly transitioned to working on behalf of the whole community.

Betty moved into Lake Parc Place, one of Chicago’s first attempts at mixed-income development, when the building reopened following rehabilitation in 1991. Initially, she did not know that it was a mixed-income building, as she was employed and on the higher end of the rent structure. By 2002, management had abandoned the income mix due to a need to house residents from the nearby Ida B. Wells Homes and other sites that were being demolished, and conditions in the building started to decline. Betty went to the management office to ask why 24 hour maintenance had been suspended, “and nobody really could explain it to me, so I started trying to go to different meetings.” In 2006, she became a building representative and by 2012 was one of the more outspoken

resident leaders in meetings. What began as interest in understanding what was happening in their communities transformed in a desire to hold CHA accountable for broken promises.

Ross's work on behalf of public housing residents in Redfern-Waterloo stems from being a "social animal" and a desire to understand his surroundings—"you live in an area, you have an interest in how the area impacts you and how you fit into the area." He has lived in Waterloo for close to 40 years and has always been driven by a desire to learn about the changes in his community, both positive and negative. In recent years, an opaque masterplanning process and questionable community consultations have left Redfern-Waterloo residents frustrated, and while Ross sees it as an opportunity to engage new residents, he is concerned about their apathy. Still, the information flow across his social networks, relationships with academics, and online forums, keeps him engaged.

Resident leaders who became engaged out of interest in community transformation continue to look for underlying reasons for why and how housing authorities and other stakeholders make decisions. There is no question that they advocate for other residents and for public housing as a whole, but much of their energy is spent on seeking explanations for how policies are being implemented and what the consequences are for residents. They are particularly oriented to gathering information about policy and regulations and citing it during their interactions with other stakeholders.

Resistance to Existing Leadership and Management

Cynthia began her transformation into a resident leader as a young woman living in CHA, and continued to occupy the role after moving into an affordable housing building in Chicago's Uptown neighborhood in the mid-1980s. Her early concerns were based on a lack of response to maintenance issues in her building. In her first action, she used a day off of work to walk around her neighborhood wearing a sandwich board that detailed the problem with her unit. It was quickly resolved, and almost immediately her neighbors approached her for assistance in solving their problems. Unlike her sister, she declined to run for a seat on the LAC because she did not conceive of herself as a leader. She said "I was just an individual person that was doing something, even though we had the LAC there. I just took it to another level. I made it personal." At the time, she was searching for a unique way to demand accountability from the housing authority for her own problem, rather than seeking to affect institutional change.

The conditions in Sheridan Gunnison, Cynthia's affordable housing building in Uptown changed the way she thought about collective action and the rights of subsidized housing residents. When she moved there in the 1980s, she was not initially aware that units in the building were subsidized by government funding. She was in the building's laundry room one day when another resident approached her about an impending threat to affordability. A provision in the government program meant that the landlord could complete repayment of the mortgage early, at which point they could raise rents to the market rate for all residents and stop accepting place-based housing vouchers. Early victories working with her neighbors to prevent minor rent increases in the building

inspired Cynthia to learn about more about HUD regulations affecting her building and others in Uptown.

The path of resident leadership does not always end at the community level, as Sharon's story shows. She was first drawn toward leadership in 2000 after learning about issues in her development during the course of her paid work in building maintenance. Residents gravitated to her to share concerns about both CHA and the conditions onsite and decided start attending local meetings. She connected with five other residents, all of whom lived in the community and were employed and with them became part of "a new group of people that had different ideas about what the community looked like." They began their efforts by hosting community building picnics for old and new residents of the redeveloped Westhaven Park on Chicago's West Side, and were trained in community organizing methods. The initial vision was for residents to share their food and culture, as well as "mingle." The events created momentum that encouraged the group to run for LAC office in 2003.

The first campaign for LAC office was difficult, if not hostile. Sharon's group was challenging leadership that had been in office for over 30 years. They nominated 11 new LAC members, and ten of them won, with the one remaining long-time representative retaining the position of vice president. When Sharon took over as president, former representatives barred her from entering the LAC office and she found that \$12,000 was missing from their account. She also learned that the site's consent decree gave power not to the LAC, but to the Horner Residents Committee, which was led by the same people who had been ousted from the LAC. The exclusion was resolved

by court order, after which Sharon still had to build relationships with the people who tried to prevent her participation. She found a new office for the LAC and gradually began to gain inroads with old leaders, but “it was a hard fight. Oh, it was a fight.”

Sharon served as LAC president from 2005 to 2010, but in 2009 approached CHA to become a resident liaison. She described herself as a sounding board for CHA before they present ideas to the CAC, and said she told other residents skeptical of her new position “yes, I’m going to work at CHA, but you have to always remember this: I’m a CHA resident first. When I go home, when I get up, I am just like you.”

Residents like Cynthia and Sharon who began their careers as leaders to challenge the status quo think broadly about how public housing policies affect low income families. They recognize that institutional change necessary in order for residents to preserve the housing they have and access other opportunities. Both women sought out community organizing training, recognized the need to advocate for public housing with elected officials, and built relationships with property managers and developers working in their communities. This stands in contrast to leaders who focus specifically on issues in their own developments.

Recruitment

Francine was living on the West Side of Chicago in 1973, but regularly commuted to the to the South Side to attend Kennedy-King College, one of the City Colleges of Chicago, and work at the Wabash YMCA. Both were close to her mother’s apartment in the Stateway Gardens development, and Francine spent so much time there that she moved in full time and was added to the lease. The building president at the time was a

70 year-old woman with failing eyesight who was friends with Francine's mother. One day, she asked Francine to walk the building with her, checking lights and stairwells and making notes about things that were out of order. From that day forward, the president relied on Francine to complete forms and take notes, including at LAC meetings. Other building representatives initially opposed her presence, particularly once Francine told them they had become "stagnated" in their efforts in the community. She found, however, that she liked participating in decision-making and ran to become a building representative in the following election. The president who recruited Francine guided her through the process of becoming a resident leader, showing her how to gather information and connect residents to opportunities.

Charmaine has lived in her Surry Hills apartment for nearly 20 years. She described her life in her first decade of residency as "reclusive and insular." After suffering a long illness, she was self-conscious about the way she looked and rarely left her apartment except to take her children to school. Around the time she recovered from her illness, a new community worker started in the building, who introduced tenants to a community arts project. Charmaine participated in photography and music sessions, and through them was connected to people working on tenant participation. She gradually started working with a local tenant group and took a seat on a neighborhood advisory board. Her overworked mentor in the leadership process "was really in it for the kudos," but still managed to make gains on behalf of residents, so she did not see it as problematic. She rose through the ranks to become chairperson of the local tenant group,

a position she vacated when she took her current job at the Inner City Regional Council for Social Development, which oversees tenant groups in the area.

For both of these women, mild interest and casual participation turned into high profile leadership roles and had gone on to both recruit and mentor other resident leaders. Their active participation went beyond their local communities, and they were both known to housing staff and other stakeholders. The future of resident leadership will be discussed at length later in this chapter, but active recruitment of new leaders is an important component of sustainability, regardless of what formal options for representation exist within housing authority systems. Some of the people I interviewed observed that an unwillingness to engage new leaders hampers the development of new strategies and future involvement in new communities.

Mentorship and Resident Leaders

All of the resident leaders described learning how to navigate the public housing landscape through trial-and-error, but some of them were also mentored or formally trained. Most of the literature about mentorship is about either youth or professional development, but the relationships that some resident leaders have had with more experienced activists have been crucial to their involvement in tenant advocacy and support. These experiences perhaps most closely mirror that of student teachers and their mentors. Fairbanks et al. note that “mentoring consists of complex social interactions that mentor teachers and student teachers construct and negotiate for a variety of professional purposes and in response to the contextual factors they encounter (2000:103). Some of this is done explicitly through instruction, while other aspects, such as relationship

building, are more informal. Mentor-mentee relationships evolve and professional growth may occur in response to unexpected events (Fairbanks and Meritt 1998). Like student teachers, residents bring a wealth of personal experience with the system to their work. Residency in public housing, interactions with neighbors and housing authority staff, and access to social services all inform their identities as tenants. Mentors help leaders harness their personal experience while developing strategies that are relevant to the whole community.

A few of the resident leaders I interviewed were drawn into community activism by mentors who identified and trained them. Much like Ross's "catching a cold" metaphor, those leaders, Charmaine and Francine, in particular, found themselves deeply involved in the community before they had an opportunity to consider what it meant personally. Charmaine described her experience with her mentor as such:

First of all, he just asked me to come and sit in the back of a meeting and observe. Then, um, the next step would be "well, you know, there's a vacancy, why don't you stand and I'll help you." And so he just sort of got me through the process and made me understand who was who and just the hierarchy of the staff and housing provider and all that kind of stuff that you have to navigate.

As discussed above, the woman who recruited Francine to support her LAC work familiarized her with leadership processes and provided legitimacy when her presence was questioned. As a young woman working with long-time leaders, she needed the support of her mentor to make her voice heard in community discussions. Once they were established, both women were very intentional about engaging newer resident leaders and supporting their growth.

Some leaders in Chicago had the benefit of being trained in community organizing, which focused on tactics, rather than the housing-specific content. Cynthia and Linda were trained by organizers at the Organization of the Northeast. The organizers at that time were exceptional according to Cynthia. The process involved working and learning at the same time, going through a process she described as:

Self first, then we learned about what was going on [with] the 20 year stipulation. Then that's when we started getting into the HUD policies and their rules and regulations and learning the things that they say they wanted to do for people. At that time, it was "safe, decent, affordable housing."

Sharon was mentored by a CHA commissioner, who "knew all the regulations. I mean, he knew everything...It was just like going to college." She referred to the time she spent learning in the community as "grassroots courses" that she would ultimately complement with work towards a Bachelor's degree.

A unique relationship with the housing redevelopment team allowed Jen to access training opportunities that might not have otherwise been available to her:

If we've, in our volunteer work, have decided "oh, we don't know something or we need training on something," we can go to them and say "look, can you organize training for doing this?" And they usually do. We've had various sessions of training over the years to help us in just dealing with residents—how to safely approach a resident if we go door-knocking, how to answer a door. When people answer the door when you go there, you get all different attitudes, so we've had trainings in how you deal with that.

Jen also completed a public speaking course that changed the way she participated in community meetings. She credited that course with transforming her from someone who never spoke in meetings to someone who has presented at conferences and regularly speaks on behalf of individual residents.

Acting for Community: The Role of Resident Leaders

The demands of resident leadership are significant, and require tenants to occupy many roles. They are advocates, producers and disseminators of knowledge, community builders, and planners, employing a broad range of communication techniques. They occupy the space between the maligned resident body and suspicious public and private stakeholders. In this position, resident leaders represent “the community,” bringing resident voice to discussions about the present and future conditions of public housing. This section explores the activities in which residents engage on a daily basis, the strategies they utilize to carry out their duties, and the tension they experience amongst themselves and with other stakeholders.

Speaking on Behalf of Residents

Communicating the needs, concerns and wishes of residents to management is another facet of leaders’ work. According to leaders, other residents rely on them to speak on their behalf because they are unable to effectively communicate their issues themselves or because they are distrustful of or dislike management. The role of mediator heightens leaders’ profiles in the community, but is essentially activism, and beyond the bounds of state-sanctioned participation. Like other aspects of leaders’ work, it supports the contradiction of community participation by durable citizens advanced by Lepofsky and Fraser (2003). By broadcasting resident issues, they actively engage in community dialogue aimed at improving local conditions, but in doing so often undermine the actions of housing authorities, which have greater power by virtue of their control of resources and alliances with other stakeholders such as private developers.

Every leader I spoke to had experience representing or supporting other residents during interactions with management. Most felt it was driven by a combination of fear of and resentment toward management and their own expertise as leaders. As Jen told me,

I think in a lot of ways we actually become the advocates for them. If they can speak up for themselves, that's fine. If they can come to a meeting and speak up, that's fine. If not we take issues to them [management]... Some of them really don't like the housing team [that handles redevelopment], simply because they're Housing, so we become the mediator.

Leaders were used to expressing their opinions directly to management and other stakeholders, and while doing so on behalf of other residents was time consuming, they recognized that addressing some issues required more knowledge about navigating the housing system than most residents possess.

Catherine told a story about being approached by another resident about a blocked garbage chute in her Surry Hills building. Late one night, a neighbor who lived on the second floor approached her in the lobby, complaining that the door to the garbage chute would not open. The woman had reported it to management, but knew nothing other than that it would not open on the second floor. Catherine walked up the stairs, trying to open the chute on different floors, and found that the blockage was four stories high. She spent four days talking to potentially responsible parties, ranging from building maintenance to external contractors to the local council. Each group blamed another for the blockage, and it was not addressed until Catherine threatened to call the media and publicly shame management. As for her neighbor, Catherine said:

That poor woman. It took me all my diplomatic skills and my mobile phone and "you stand downstairs in the carpark and I will come and show you exactly where the problem is." What hope did she have? But we shouldn't have to do that. They're over in the office. They should do it.

The neighbor who noticed the problem did not possess the skills or knowledge to hold management accountable for fixing the garbage chute.

The situation Catherine described was an extreme one. In most cases, leaders encourage residents to speak for themselves. They even coach people on how to communicate directly with management. Coaching is both a method of empowering and engaging residents and a practical strategy for balancing time constraints or an unwillingness to become overly involved in individual issues. Residents in Chicago were always encouraged to reach out to their Local Advisory Council representative for support in interacting with CHA. This recommendation was made at Tenant Services Meetings, when residents were already frustrated by unsuccessful attempts to resolve issues directly with CHA. Leaders preferred that residents first bring their complaints directly to management and call upon them only when the housing authorities were unresponsive. If asked at the outset of the problem, leaders helped other residents articulate their problems rather than join them in conversations with management.

Serving as a spokesperson for other residents can reinforce leaders' positions as "community stars," which Cairns (2003) warns may diminish the collective capacity of the community. The reliance on leaders to speak for individuals may also relate to the general apathy about participation that leaders observed in the broader resident population. This concept will be discussed in greater detail below, but several leaders noted that most residents are not inclined to participate in community dialogue after personal issues have been resolved. Disinterest in learning how to navigate the system may prompt residents to request leaders' assistance instead of developing their own

skills. Given the scope of work that resident leaders take on, regularly serving as mediators for individual problems is not sustainable, nor the best use of their time. It is also possible that frequent interaction with housing staff establishes leaders as the reliable and authentic voice of all residents, and thus a suitable replacement for broader engagement and consultation, but this needs to be explored through further research.

Accumulating and Disseminating Information

Negotiating public housing management and redevelopment stakeholders requires resident leaders to educate themselves on housing regulations, planning processes, and communication techniques. The level and accuracy of information available to leaders directs their strategies for participation and resistance. One of the significant flaws in current leadership structures is that residents must rely heavily on their housing authorities to provide information. It would be beneficial if more avenues existed outside of the housing authority to obtain policy and planning materials. Rumors are rampant among tenants and it is the leaders' job to disentangle fact from fiction. Those who have been involved in resident leadership for many years have established tactics, while newer leaders may rely more heavily on more established advocates. Still, in both cities, leaders emphasize the importance of social networks and informal conversations in accumulating knowledge.

Leaders used varying strategies for gathering and disseminating information, based on their networks, familiarity and comfort with online platforms, and relationship with management. Informal, unplanned conversations in social spaces remain the cornerstone of communication. Being out in the world and, as Ross put it, "a social

animal” brought leaders into regular contact with others serving in a similar capacity. All of the leaders listed shopping centers, street corners, and public transit as locations for informal information-sharing. Francine placed these interactions above reading material and emphasized the need to seek out contacts both within and outside of one’s home neighborhood. She felt strongly that experiences in one community would inform those in another, particularly if they are at different stages of redevelopment.

In addition to informal mechanism for collecting information, leaders attended a variety of meetings led by resident groups or other community stakeholders. It was not uncommon for leaders to attend multiple meetings in a day, requiring time commitments impossible for residents who held paid employment. The meetings varied in scope and audience, including town hall meetings for specific sites, CHA-wide tenant meetings, resident leadership meetings, geographic community policing meetings, and local government area or aldermanic ward meetings. There is considerable attendee overlap between meetings, as people with complex interests in particular communities seek to gather as much information as possible. Most resident leaders do not spend much time studying the information from different meetings to see where it intersects or contradicts, as there is always another meeting to attend.

Highly active resident leaders recognize that gaps in their knowledge equal a disservice to other residents, and that simple familiarity with housing authority regulations is insufficient. Francine repeatedly said that she was not afraid to ask questions, even if there was a chance the question would appear to be foolish—“if you don’t comprehend, ask questions. So what I ask a dumb question, but you know what? I

get smart answers.” She uses the same tactic with residents’ problems, asking questions when a problem arises that is new to her:

I learn by listening to residents’ issues. It might be a problem I’ve never heard before, but then knowing CHA rules like I do, I know what apply, what don’t apply. If I’m not sure, we’re going to make an appointment and we’re going to see the manager, see what’s the best way to handle it. You have to do something in order to learn.

Leaders’ profiles in their communities mean that they are recognizable, and people regularly approach them. Francine said she could rarely go anywhere without someone stopping her and requesting assistance or information. Betty described Francine’s approach to serving as a resource:

She has a floating office, for real. It’s always something in her car that she can reach back and give to someone. We may stop at a service station and someone will say, “Oh, that’s Francine! I need an application for senior housing.” And she’ll look in her office in the back of her van and pull it out.

Nearly everywhere I went with Francine, including restaurants and other public places, someone knew her and asked for assistance.

The process of sharing knowledge, according to Ross, is a voyage. By engaging residents who have individual concerns and teaching them tactics for navigating housing bureaucracy, one can begin to build capacity in the community.

You’ve learnt various pathways, various courses, to produce a result. You’ve learned some of the dead ends and booby traps along the way, and if you can take someone over that path, lead them down the path, let them do the work so they learn, then they can go and tell their friend. [When] their friend has the same problem, they say, “you know, I had that, and I did this, this, and this.” So you spread the knowledge, you spread the ability through working in an area.

Ross was unique in that his efforts to inform the local population extended beyond tenants to include ground-level HNSW and social sector employees. The reason for

taking this approach was the belief that if staff understood resident perspectives, they would incorporate it into their work, and perhaps challenge HNSW leadership on decisions that were not favorable for residents. It was a highly localized strategy, based on Ross's relationship with staff members, so it is difficult to say if the activity could be replicated elsewhere in Sydney.

“Handle Me Like I’m Human”: Interacting with Housing Authorities

Years of neglect and stigmatization have left many residents distrustful of CHA, HNSW, and the organizations that work closely with them. Resident leaders believe that many housing authority staff members have little regard for residents, and their efforts to obtain information from management may yield incomplete or incorrect answers. In attempting to share resident perspectives with management, they often expect to be dismissed. Resident leadership is based on building relationships and protecting residents while challenging managements' opinions of them. It is a form of community participation that exists outside the state-sanctioned bounds of consultations or other forms of involvement in which the terms are entirely dictated by management. Leaders go through a process of bringing unasked-for perspectives to management and raising concerns that the housing authorities may or may not be interested in addressing. Present concerns relate to how buildings are managed, transparency around relocation and eviction, and redevelopment consultations.

One of the greatest challenges that resident leaders confront is housing authority staff that are at best indifferent toward and, at worst, loathed residents. Based on observations at tenant services meetings and events in which residents came into close

contact with housing authority staff, those concerns were warranted. A standout example of this tension occurred at tenant services meeting in Chicago in September of 2012. The meeting was held at the Central Advisory Council's office, which, as usual, drew residents from all over the city, unlike meetings held at different developments. During the question and answer portion of the meeting, a woman whose car had been vandalized beyond repair asked for CHA's help in filing a claim so she could have it replaced.

She complained that the security cameras at her development were not monitored and that no one had assisted her in the months since the incident occurred. Losing access to a car made it difficult for her to get to work, and in her frustration, she became emotional, pleading with the CHA staff to "handle me like I'm human." A CHA employee responded by telling his colleagues to stop responding to her because she was "being disrespectful." The employee was not representative of every CHA staff member, and many appeared to at least make an attempt to be responsive and respectful, but the possibility of encountering hostile staff made residents guarded.

The situation with HNSW staff was similar, and leaders in Sydney primarily saw HNSW representatives as divorced from resident experience. This manifested as both disdain for residents and a "white knight mentality." Both speak to a belief in both cities that people working in housing did so to position themselves for future employment. Catherine illustrated this, saying:

I was at a meeting the other day and somebody said, "yes, that particular housing person is renowned for not like tenants. Tenants are a nuisance." And I thought "so how are you going to work with someone who thinks that tenants are a nuisance?" I think a lot of them are just in it on their way to somewhere else.

The “white knight mentality” was observable to Ross when HNSW staff arrived in the community knowing “*all* the answers to *all* your problems” without speaking with residents. That group was as problematic as those who were openly disdainful of residents because “they leave chaos and broken hopes and raise promises that are never honored scattered ‘round them like confetti.” It is these well-intentioned staffers who, in Ross’s view, threaten future resident engagement because of the distrust and apathy they produce in many residents.

Residents in leadership positions have found that working to resolve issues with housing authorities is a slow-moving process. In addition to the time spent identifying and implementing solutions, leaders often find that victories may only apply to particular areas or last for a certain amount of time. Betty quickly became deeply involved in the issues first in her building, then citywide. But she is increasingly frustrated by what she perceives as CHA’s desire to keep public housing residents living in chaos:

I don’t expect anything good to come out of it. I don’t expect it to be fixed, and I don’t expect it to get any better. Especially for the areas that they have targeted for gentrification. *That’s* my personal opinion. And I see that, where you get the money. I got that. I *got* it. Everybody get the money, everybody gets paid, everybody goes to the bank. But you use the back of the people that’s in the communities. And they suffer. And that’s when I find the unfairness. They should not be suffering because you want to get paid. It’s unfair. It’s just wrong.

Betty offers a much more pessimistic view than most of the other leaders I interviewed, and threatened not to run in the next election. Still, she emphasizes that residents needs to ask questions, and that representatives need to set aside their personal opinions and approach issues thinking about how they will affect the whole building or community.

A transfer request convinced Catherine that whatever their rhetoric, incorporating public housing residents into surrounding communities and helping them thrive were not HNSW's priorities. She had lived in Surry Hills for over twenty years, but wanted to transfer to a home in the rural area where she grew up and where two of her cousins were the local real estate agent and mayor. She was told that she was "very, very high on a very, very short list," but that rather than relocate her, HNSW began selling the small houses in that town. A wood chipping mill had recently opened, and there was increased demand for housing. Catherine questioned the logic of selling properties as a long-term strategy when people want to move to remote areas—"I mean, it's only a little \$90,000 house. They got a tenant for life. But there's no humanness in it. It's all a big, bad bureaucracy." In this case, there was no apparent interest in building a sustainable community that included public housing residents. The move would have created a vacancy in a desirable area and settled a public housing tenant in an area where she had strong ties and could make meaningful civic contributions.

The Personal Toll of a High Community Profile

Taking a position of leadership among residents can be a personal and political minefield in both Chicago and Sydney. Long hours can take a toll on personal relationships, and almost all of the leaders had been accused of favoritism by other residents. A long history of housing authorities breaking promises and failing to solve longstanding issues around safety and maintenance leaves some leaders feeling despondent about their involvement. At the same time, the vast majority of the leaders I

interviewed were committed enough to preserving residents' rights that they were willing to make these sacrifices.

For most resident leaders, it was impossible to be "off duty" regardless of the consequences for personal relationships, health, and employment. While unplanned public interactions are an important mechanism for gathering and disseminating information, it can be challenging for leaders to separate themselves from their work. Jen worked with a woman in Airds-Bradbury whose active engagement in resident issues resulted in the end of her marriage and a significant decline in her health. Francine commented that when she is with her grandchildren, they beg her not to respond to people who come up to her on the street or call to her while she sits in her car at stoplights. She laughed that the kids were "paranoid" about people approaching the car, but admitted that sometimes she needs a "me day" because it is easy to get burned out.

Charmaine had similar experiences in Surry Hills, and thought it was based on resident perception that leaders have the power to recommend eviction of problematic tenants. One Sunday morning, she went out to buy a newspaper and encountered another resident who provided a list of infractions committed by another resident. Her reaction was "why are you telling me this? But there's that perception that he seems to think that I have power over, you know, people's tenancies."

Challenging previous leadership with a new vision for her community was deeply personal for Sharon, and is something that she continues to confront in her role with CHA. People made assumptions about Sharon based on her family connections that she had to overcome when she first became actively involved in the community. Now that

she works for CHA, she said people react to her differently—“my transition here from the table, it was, I’ve been hurt so much. I’ve been hurt so much by what I’ve seen, what I’ve witnessed, and what I’ve learned on the other side.” Sharon continues to see herself as a resident advocate but knows that some see her as “the enemy.”

Accusations of favoritism or perceptions that leaders will work harder for some residents than others based on personal relationships are other issues tied to the role. It is difficult to determine if the leaders who participated in this project engage in any favoritism, but several of them noted that it can happen. Each one stated that they did not make decisions based on personal gain, but if they were unfair, they either did not recognize it or acted based on one family’s greater need. Whitney, a former building president in Chicago’s mid-south who is no longer actively involved in the LAC, said “when a family didn’t have nothing, I gave them better stuff. I got called a bitch for that...but I wouldn’t give myself a [free] turkey [at Thanksgiving].”

Residents attending open meetings in Chicago sometimes rejected offers to work with their local LAC representatives, yelling about leaders being unwilling to help them or secretly acting as agents for the housing authority. Francine felt that during the planning stages of the Plan for Transformation, some representatives made decisions based on personal gain, which diminished the trust that residents had in the LAC. The tension between being private citizens and resident representatives was evident throughout the time I spent with leaders. Providing good quality representation to other residents meant having “to think about how it’s affecting the entire building, not just me,” as Betty put it. They had to be oriented to the community rather than their own interests,

and on occasions when wanted to focus on themselves, there were often residents there to pull them back into the work. The balancing act has become more complex as redevelopment has changed leaders' roles and stature.

Participation Through Consultations

All of the public and affordable housing represented by the leaders I spoke with was undergoing some degree of transformation. At one end of the spectrum, Francine has seen almost the entirety of her community demolished and rebuilt, with residents returned or dispersed to other neighborhoods depending on choice or qualification. At the other end are leaders in Redfern-Waterloo, who have only a Built Environment Plan and the private sale of public housing units elsewhere in the City of Sydney¹ upon which to base their actions. Regardless of the stage of redevelopment, all leaders express concerns about their housing authority's transparency resident knowledge of planning. Residents are invited to participate to varying degrees, through consultations and as members of working groups. This offers some opportunity for resident voice in redevelopment, but very little flexibility for residents to challenge broader planning decisions. In addition to the redevelopment activities, leaders must contest with the perpetual instability that many tenants feel about their residential futures. It is often unclear where residents will live during redevelopment and if they will be able to return to their communities, which creates fear and anxiety.

The consensus in the participatory planning literature is that consultations do not go far enough in engaging residents in the planning process (Smith 2009-10; Brabham

¹ Heritage-listed public housing located in Millers Point, adjacent to Sydney Harbour, is being sold to private buyers. The NSW government argues that maintenance costs for the units are too high, and that proceeds from that sale of prime properties can be utilized to greater effect in less expensive locations.

2009; Hou and Kinoshita 2007; Manzo and Perkins 2006; Sanoff 2006). Planners acknowledge that there is a greater likelihood that newly planned communities will be successful if all stakeholders are actively engaged in the development process, and that particular attention should be paid to marginalized stakeholders (Smith 2009-10; Sanoff 2006). At the same time, it has been suggested that “participatory processes that give a degree of power to participants have the effect of devolving governments of some responsibility for planning outcomes” (Hopkins 2010:72). Gathering and then largely disregarding resident input may absolve developers of some responsibility when tenants’ needs and expectations are not met. Furthermore, participatory planning accepts that the most contested issues in these neighborhoods—redevelopment and tenure mix—are non-negotiable, so residents are automatically forced into a reactionary position, rather than one where they can have any power over major decisions.

Resident Knowledge and Redevelopment Working Groups

The most intensive form of resident participation involves leaders working closely with redevelopment teams during site planning and throughout implementation. For Francine, this meant an evolution in her role as LAC president. From the outset of redevelopment planning at Stateway Gardens on Chicago’s South Side, she held a seat on the working group, and regularly interacted with architects, developers, social service providers, CHA staff, and representatives from the offices of elected officials. She thought that it was important to have resident representation during those conversations, but was concerned that they were not on a level playing field in terms of knowledge of planning procedures and policies.

When the Transformation started, I was one of the people at the table with the commissioners, and we actually sat at the table and we thought out the plan. But not all our levels of comprehension are the same. It's hard to so do something when you have limited resources. You're in a big meeting and you need to make some decisions, and you making decisions based on your knowledge, which is not too much. So therefore you wind up with the short end of the stick.

She regularly asked for clarity on issues and concepts of which she had no previous knowledge, but still felt that it put residents at a disadvantage. No mechanisms existed to build resident expertise in planning, and while many leaders had access to planners, it was did not provide sufficient educational opportunities. In Francine's opinion, this was particularly problematic in communities where the LAC president was motivated more by personal interest than that of the whole community. Leaders who advocated for themselves rather than the community as a whole did a significant disservice to other residents.

Other leaders in Chicago shared this sentiment. Sharon, in particular, felt that leaders who were lacking planning knowledge should develop committees and conduct research of their own. She said, "when it comes to redevelopment, you know, the architects, the planning process, we don't have the ability to think like that because we don't specialize in that." The most effective way to participate in planning would be to incorporate people who understand planning into their group. In addition to the concerns about planning knowledge, Sharon was critical of the way some leaders engaged the residents whose voices they represent. A primary function of leaders is to provide other residents with information and collect their reactions, and Sharon believes there is considerable failure to do so. Leaders contributing to the planning process without

sufficient community consultation is no different than CHA making decisions on behalf of residents.

Building a good relationship with a receptive redevelopment team has given Jen a much more positive attitude about consultations than any other resident leader. The current redevelopment staff have been involved with the site for over five years, and during that time they have built mutual trust. When it comes to redevelopment activities and consultations, Jen and her community colleagues take on a supportive role rather than a critical one. The language that she uses to describe residents' role in the process reveals this:

They've actually allowed us to have a say in various decisions. It's our community, it's our home, it's our neighbors, it's our family. So they've allowed us to have input into all of that, and that's grown from the point with the [public-private partnership] that they're going through at the moment, they've allowed us as residents to meet those who put in expressions of interest and talk to them.

The repeated use of the word “allow” captures the dynamic between HNSW and leaders in Airds. Much of the work that Jen does is in concert with Housing, even when she is representing residents, and they have offered her training opportunities to grow as a participant. Though there is mutual respect, and she has presented at housing conferences and to private partners, the terms of her engagement with stakeholders are set by HNSW. The scope of Jen's influence remains within the boundaries of state-sanctioned participation.

Consultation Pathways to Broader Engagement

Despite the limitations of consultation participation, Ross believes that it offers resident leaders an opportunity to promote more active community engagement—

The consultation, the cycle of consultations. It's designed to achieve a set outcome, and if you point it out to the people that this is where it's going...you take them past the glossy paint on the top into the nuts and bolts, where you can ask them "are you happy with this outcome?"

The value in consultations, according to Ross, is that they provide a platform for resident leaders to draw attention to questions about the government's intentions. If residents develop an interest in the planning process, he believes they can be educated about the broader implications of redevelopment, such as relocation and net loss of units in a geographic area. The ideal consequence of this new understanding is that residents demand accountability from the housing authority, or at the very least greater transparency.

Consultations and other redevelopment activities bring leaders into contact with private stakeholders such as property developers and construction companies, and non-profit stakeholders such as social service providers. Despite the significant role that these actors play in the remaking of urban spaces, leaders continue to emphasize the relationship with the state housing authorities. Sharon suggested that CHA resident leaders based their work on experiences from the distant past, putting them at a distinct disadvantage in a changing context. "If you want to hold on to what happened in the past, you are not part of the process. The residents are moving on, and you still stuck there and you in leadership." She was referring to leaders' interactions with CHA administrators from the 1970s and 1980s, but the sentiment is applicable to the shift away from CHA-managed properties to public-private partnerships.

The idea of turning consultations into an educational opportunity that empowers residents to seek accountability exemplifies the unique and problematic space that

resident leaders occupy on the citizenship scale. Ross has extensive knowledge of international housing policy and makes regular attempts to educate public stakeholders of all types, but continues to direct his arguments at the state on the basis of social citizenship at a moment when the rights the state can bestow on an individual are no longer the only ones necessary. This citizen-sanctioned participation, “whereby local citizens and/or citizen groups frame the rules of engagement and manage the participation process” (Rogers and Darcy 2014:25) may not be recognized by the “flexible citizens,” whose capital informs so many redevelopment decisions. How much this diminishes public housing residents’ voices in urban placemaking going forward remains to be seen, but their exclusion from local governance, particularly in redeveloped communities with condo associations, is not encouraging.

Territorial Embodiment and the Future of Resident Leadership

Mixed-income housing policies have changed the resident leadership. Demolition and displacement, or the threat of them, along with the introduction of new, exchange value-oriented stakeholders, have altered communities. Territorial embodiment, which is the stigma that follows residents from former public housing communities into newly-build mixed-income developments, is supported by expectations that public housing tenants will adopt new behaviors modeled on higher income neighbors. Fear of eviction and general lack of engagement among younger residents threaten the sustainability of any resident body, let alone one that openly challenges housing authorities. The future of resident leadership is also uncertain because of the paradox of active citizenship that leaders present. They are actively engaged and participate at heightened levels, but they

represent a group of lesser citizens and their primary relationship is with state actors rather than the private stakeholders who are so influential in the new context.

Recruiting the Next Generation of Resident Leaders

The majority of resident leaders are in their 50s or older, and have represented their communities for decades. Though public housing communities are undergoing transitions, leaders agree that residents continue to need representation and that they will not be able to perform their current duties indefinitely. There is a great need for the younger generation of residents to assume leadership positions. Current leaders express concern about the likelihood of this happening, but are at a loss as to how to address the problem. To create a sustainable system, leaders need to generate interest in representing the community among younger residents, while also being willing to relinquish some of their own power. For some leaders, this may be an impossible task.

All of the leaders I spoke with had difficulty identifying younger residents who could take on leadership roles. Residents who attended meetings often did so in order to resolve issues with their own units, rather than to learn about opportunities for participation or advocacy. Once they elicit answers from management, they return to disengagement. Ross referred to people in the Redfern-Waterloo who claimed to be leaders and were open about their opinions, but would not fully commit—“they want other people, that mythical ‘someone’ to, someone to do something that anyone could have done that everybody hasn’t done.” The situation elsewhere was the same, with Jen saying that in Airds,

One thing we can do is get people in to help out with the different things and volunteer to do things, but to actually take over is something else. When we get to

the point health-wise or age-wise we can't do it anymore, we don't know what's going to happen. But I think that's the same everywhere.

The sustainability issue was troubling to leaders, who feared that a dearth of new leaders would result in a loss of knowledge and capacity among residents and diminish the housing authority's accountability to tenants.

Some suggested that rather than wait for new leaders to emerge, current leaders should actively recruit by highlighting attacks on resident representation structures and provoking passion within the community. Betty thought that drawing attention to significant community change and the role the LAC can play may encourage disengaged residents to attend meetings and begin down the path to leadership positions. CHA is “chipping away” at the leadership structure by not allowing the LAC to have representatives in new mixed-income communities. The LAC is losing both power and visibility, and, as a result, Betty said that current representatives “have to have the gumption to grab the folk and pull ‘em on to ‘em.” At the time I was in the field, CHA residents were preparing for an LAC election. Leaders clearly communicated that each geographic region was required to produce five nominees for the available LAC seats, and if there were not a sufficient number of candidates, the entire area would be unrepresented during the following term. Finding the required number of candidates was challenging in some areas.

Unwillingness to Relinquish Power

There is no question that current resident leaders are dedicated to their communities, but a small subset of people I interviewed were concerned that some leaders would be unwilling to relinquish control of community dialogue to other

residents. Charmaine discussed the allure of remaining in leadership positions for too long:

Once people get in that position, when they kind of have that sense of power—and for lots of tenants, it’s the first time in their lives that they’ve ever felt anything close to that—so they find it very hard to let go. Mentoring is not prioritized because they don’t want to actually give up their position of power.

Sharon made a similar observation, saying that current leaders “will not pass the baton to the younger generation.” She believes that leaders who mentor the next generation can ensure their legacies, because those future leaders will incorporate their mentor’s views and experiences into their own strategies. Sharon suggested that term limits would be an effective strategy for guaranteeing that new ideas are brought into the discussion, and thought a youth council could build momentum for participation. Both of these women transitioned from being resident leaders into paid positions that afforded them distance from the daily work in which others were steeped. It is likely the shift informed their perspectives about this particular tension.

Resident Apathy

Apathy generated by years of broken promises or burnout is another barrier to ongoing participation according to resident leaders. Ross noted that there is a demand from HNSW for people to participate in specific ways, such as through planning consultations. When they feel that the housing authority does not hear their perspectives during those processes or their participation does not yield positive results for them, he believes they become alienated, and those who may have become active members of their communities become apathetic instead. He felt that this scenario may benefit the government in the short term, but that the long-term effect of resident disengagement is

decreased connection to and sense of ownership of the community. Jen credited fear of backlash and the perceived threat of eviction for the ambivalence residents felt about increasing involvement in leadership activities. Housing stability outweighed interest in supporting work that would challenge the housing authority.

It is possible that apathy is an expression of burnout for some former resident leaders. Betty routinely said that she was going to withdraw from the work because it was exhausting and yielded few wins. Cynthia observed that most of the leaders she worked with to secure HUD funding for her Uptown building seemed to have lost their passion for the work and the community. Age was a factor, as she said they used to be able to party all night and work all day, but attendance at minor events such as monthly meetings was very poor. Whereas once the meetings would draw 40 or more residents, they currently average about three attendees. She said they would continue to have meetings, but feared that lack of resident interest would lead non-resident housing organizers to take charge of the advocacy agenda.

The Paradox of Active Citizenship in Chicago

Different approaches to representation and information-sharing highlight the scope of work available to resident leaders and the degree to which they are mounting active resistance to changes in public housing. The Local Advisory Council remains a sanctioned representation body, but only for residents living outside of new mixed-income communities. At this stage of the Plan for Transformation, now in its fifteenth year, most major decisions about the future form of public housing in Chicago have been made. There are a few remaining developments that leaders are vocal about protecting,

but despite the best efforts of residents and their allies to prevent it, the question about redevelopment seems to be not “if,” but “when” and “how.” Leaders are actively involved in these discussions, but their expectations for participation go beyond what is sanctioned by the state.

In 2012, the Central Advisory Council attempted a new strategy to validate their perspective on future redevelopment plans by partnering with flexible citizens who represented other institutions. As CHA prepared to launch a revised plan for redevelopment in 2012, the CAC produced its own set of recommendations for the future of public housing in Chicago. What was initially meant to be a response to the CHA’s plan became a preemptive move, delivered four months before CHA’s Plan Forward. The CAC’s “Strategies and Recommendations Report” was funded by CHA, and included partnerships with the Natalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement at the University of Illinois at Chicago, the tenant media outlet We The People Media, and the Chicago Jobs Council, among others. Despite the support from CHA, the recommendations challenged the way CHA has approached redevelopment, particularly around tenure mix and resident representation.

The CAC made 13 key recommendations for redevelopment and rehabilitation, and six of them advocate for processes that give residents greater autonomy and stronger claims to their communities. The most important is that CHA rescind the request that the Department of Housing and Urban Development grant a waiver of 24 CFR Part 964. This is the federal regulation that calls for the establishment of resident councils for the purpose of improving the quality of life for residents and advising the housing authority

in public housing operations. The HUD waiver currently in place excludes residents living in mixed-income developments from participating in the LAC or having representation. In addition to expanding representation, leaders want to exert more control over social service delivery. They recommend a resident-led “Resident Services” approach that would include site-based social services staff with joint CAC-CHA oversight and leadership. The recommendations also include concerted efforts on the part of CHA to collect and incorporate residents’ perspectives into all aspects of planning, but the preceding points signal that they want greater influence over these processes.

Recommendations about how sites are redeveloped and governed deviate significantly from CHA’s vision for public housing communities. Leaders from remaining traditional sites, or areas within or adjacent to mixed-income developments, used their time in public and leadership meetings to advocate for rehabilitation rather than rebuilding. They felt they had a particularly strong case in areas that had large inventories of market rate housing, such as around Lathrop Homes and the Cabrini Rowhouses on the city’s north side, and the Henry Horner Superblock on west side. This desire is reflected in the 2012 report, accompanied by a request that rehabilitated units be made available only to families with incomes below 80 percent of the area median income. Essentially, the request was for no additional market rate housing.

The CAC’s report was a preemptive response to the CHA’s “recalibration” of the Plan for Transformation, which was released as “Plan Forward” in early 2013. The CAC document gave CHA something to respond to in addition to a process they held to collect stakeholder input. The Chicago Housing Authority offered little in the way of detail about

future plans for redevelopment, but emphasized private partnerships and service models designed to move families to self-sufficiency. One promising proposed initiative was for guidelines for resident involvement in property-level governance, but that absence of any concrete plan and the questionable level of support from private stakeholders means that it could be little more than lip service to appease leaders. Private stakeholders, particularly property management, also factor into resident requests for CHA to adopt a uniform “one strike” policy that applied to residents in traditional developments, mixed-income communities, and Housing Choice Voucher recipients. Current public-partnerships mean that CHA may not be able to deliver on their own promises in locations where they have limited control.

The Paradox of Resident Leadership in Sydney

Sites in Sydney are at vastly different stages of development, and the roles available to resident leaders are equally diverse. Leaders such as Ross and Charmaine who work in inner city Redfern-Waterloo are responding to opaque masterplanning processes, but are in the early stages of redevelopment. It appears that there are still aspects of the plan that are open for debate, meaning that leaders continue to have the option of opposing broad-scale displacement and redevelopment. Rogers and Darcy discuss the citizen-sanctioned participation in Redfern-Waterloo at length, noting that “their actions focused on the social in notions of citizenship as a way of attempting to protect and reclaim local residents’ ongoing public housing rights in their neighborhood” (2014:26).

In Airds, where redevelopment is in the first five years of a 15 to 20 year plan, Jen's leadership aligns more with state-sanctioned participation. Raising resident voices within the context of site redevelopment does little to challenge the plan to transform the area from one of 1,470 public housing units to one with only 600 of 2,000 units designated for public housing tenants. It is important for Jen that the renewal team hears and incorporates resident voice into their planning, but her arguments are based more on notions of home and community than rights to the city. She spoke at length about ensuring that the new development maintained the current street grid that was familiar to longtime residents and how, despite outsiders' perceptions, Airds had a strong community to which people were attached. She wants public housing residents to be seen as good people with more complexity than their subsidies suggest, and through this, worthy of new homes in a remade community.

In the two cases in Sydney, the paradox exists because residents actively participate, but do so on behalf of a flawed community. As they are not flexible citizens whose access to capital ensures a decision-making role, their influence is limited. Though they perform the duties of good citizens by participating, their status as public housing residents continues to prevent access to full citizenship in a neoliberal context. Ross's strategy of educating lower ranking housing employees and other stakeholders is a compelling one. It aims to move those flexible citizens away from mere acknowledgement of resident voices and toward resident advocacy within HNSW.

Conclusion

Resident leaders are the model of active community participation. They attend meetings, share their perspectives, and think critically about the future of their communities. In many ways residents are asked to be “better” than other citizens who automatically gain access to decision-making mechanisms by virtue of their propertied status. As responsible local actors, it follows that they should have a right to city and all of the access to placemaking that it entails. Yet because they represent failed communities, they are required to work within the confined roles that the housing authority and other redevelopment stakeholders have identified for them. This has consequences for their positions in the community, the future of resident leadership, and access to full citizenship rights.

The majority of resident leaders I interviewed have been active in their communities for at least 20 years. Their reputations precede them in conversations with housing authority staff, and, more importantly, their tactics may not align with the current challenges facing public housing residents. State-sanctioned participation opportunities remove leaders and other residents from conversations about the direction of public housing communities and re-engage them when the stakes are lower. Conversations around issues such as tenure mix and tenant requirements and selection take place primarily between the housing authority and Lepofsky and Fraser’s “flexible citizens” (2003). The roles that leaders can play are limited and emphasize navigating bureaucracy rather than mounting resistance. From her position as a resident liaison within CHA, Sharon observed that leaders need to retire their former tactics and work on building

“new relationships with the new players in the context of a different dynamic.” In failing to do so, she was concerned that leaders’ reputations would follow them into work with new stakeholders, and that they would not be seen as authentic representatives of resident voice.

Even as policy has shifted away from state public housing provision to mixed-income, public-private development partnerships, leaders continue to target the housing authority when making claims about rights and ownership of their former communities. They should be engaging higher income residents and community investors, whose exchange value orientation to the spaces aligns more closely with the neoliberal, consumer form of citizenship. Those flexible citizens are the ones who have greater input into how mixed-income communities are governed, and thus have the power to create spaces for public housing tenants to participate more effectively. If citizenship under neoliberalism is an articulation of the relationship between the state and the market, as Wacquant (2012) suggests, then resident leaders need to adapt their arguments about social citizenship rights. The question that emerges from Wacquant’s conceptualization is whether citizenship bestowed on non-propertied residents needs to be authenticated in some way by market actors. If that is the case, leaders need to develop methods of engaging private sector stakeholders in conversation with them about their rights.

Challenging institutions that they have no access to on the basis of claims to spaces that no longer exist or have already been identified for transformation may not yield the results that leaders hope. There may be promise in mobilizing housing authority staff who have professional relationships with other redevelopment stakeholders, and can

advocate for resident rights. A number of barriers exist to developing a contingent of staff advocates, such as identifying likely allies and convincing them to potentially compromise their positions. Still, as a strategy, it bypasses state-sanctioned participation mechanisms and allows leaders to use their existing rhetoric about rights. The demand that they work within the confined roles that the housing authority has set out for them, through participation

Public housing residents spend a considerable amount of time interacting and negotiating with institutions. In the next chapter, I explore the relationship between residents and university researchers. It is another context in which resident participation is crucial, but the terms of engagement are defined almost solely by the other actors. The solutions to the power imbalance between residents and researchers that I propose in the next chapter may be applicable in some ways to their work with other institutions. The opportunity to build capacity among community residents may have implications for the sustainability of resident leadership.

CHAPTER FIVE

VULNERABILITY AND A RESEARCH BILL OF RIGHTS

On December 8, 2011, I met with a small group of CHA leaders for the first time. The person coordinating the meeting had told the residents one meeting time, and me another, hours apart. When I called the coordinator in the morning, she said that residents had already assembled and asked where I was. I immediately got in the car and raced the 15 miles down Lake Shore Drive, arriving breathless and apologizing profusely. At this point, the residents had been waiting for an hour. They kindly encouraged me to take a deep breath and relax before explaining the project to them, as I was so flustered. After I had done so, I gave a brief introduction to *Residents' Voices*. When I finished, I was met with a stony silence. I had explained that the project was designed to incorporate residents' own research interests, and that we expected to produce findings that residents could use for their own ends, rather than to fulfill an academic agenda. The leaders, however, could not get past one word: research.

It is sometimes the case that community partners have had encounters with traditional researchers that have left them skeptical of any researcher's promises to actively and ethically engage with the community. The initial meeting between the research team and residents in Chicago highlighted the distrust that community members felt towards researchers. Several of the residents in the room had recently been involved in a CHA-contracted evaluation project and were angry that they were asked to volunteer

their time to recruit participants and complete surveys while graduate students were being paid to do the same work. They also told stories about spending considerable time and sharing traumatic experiences with academics who came to their communities for the purpose of collecting data and were never heard from again. Residents felt abandoned, exploited, and in at least one case, learned later that an academic built a prominent career on the basis of a book that they felt was inauthentic and sensationalistic.

Even researchers with the best intentions and a commitment to social justice will encounter communities where “residents believe, not unreasonably, that ‘outside’ researchers are more interested in their own careers than the future of the neighborhood they are researching” (Mulligan and Nadarajah 2008:82). At the second meeting with CHA residents in December 2011, Betty asked why public housing residents, in particular, were so frequently asked to contribute to studies. She found the response—that it is valuable to examine how policy is being implemented—lacking. In her view, housing policies were rarely implemented as written, so studying them was a flawed proposition, and prior experiences with researchers had yielded little to nothing for the community.

Residents’ Voices relied on a small group of residents leaders who informed the direction of the work and identified other potential participants. Those leaders were the same people who initially required convincing to participate, and who most strongly questioned the need for additional research in their communities. The relationship building that produced a more collaborative relationship between the RV team and resident leaders is discussed at length in Chapter Two. It is, however, important to note

here that it was clear throughout the project that these associations added legitimacy to my presence in certain spaces, particularly at meetings where residents developed strategies for engagement with CHA. The relationship also allowed me to explore residents' research experiences, discuss harmful research practice, and identify potential solutions to the power imbalance that exists between researchers and participants.

Academic researchers are required to go through rigorous procedures to ensure that research participants are protected from physical and psychological harm. This process does not, however, sufficiently capture the combined effects of participating in multiple research studies, as many public housing residents have. It also fails to include provisions for dissemination of findings among research populations, particularly for studies that produce information with community-level applicability or policy implications. Community-based participatory research addresses some of these concerns, engaging community members and organizations in the research process, but is dependent on the applied orientation of individual academics and lacks strong institutional support. In this chapter, I examine the power dynamics of research through the lens of resident experience.

The latter portion of this chapter explores potential solutions for addressing the power imbalance between public housing residents. My conversations with resident leaders led to a proposed "Resident Research Bill of Rights." The Bill of Rights is a work in progress, but I discuss the themes that emerged during the course of this study, including a neighborhood manual for researchers, community-generated consent forms, and a commitment to returning findings to research populations. The discussion also

considers resident assumptions about academic research, as well as the constraints that willing academics are likely to encounter within their universities.

Research Review Boards and Participant Protections

The preface to the *ORI Introduction to the Responsible Conduct of Research* states that “in general terms, responsible conduct in research is simply good citizenship applied to professional life” (Steneck 2007:xi). Both Australia and the United States require academics conducting research on human subjects, be it medical or social, to submit proof that participating in a study will cause a person no harm, and put them in no greater risk than posed by everyday life. Yet despite going through these applications and obtaining the approval of appropriate institutional bodies, it remains difficult for a researcher to discern what aspects of data collection might produce trauma or other forms of harm in a participant, either in the immediate aftermath or long after a study is completed.

In the United States, ethical principles for research with human subjects were established with The Belmont Report in 1978. Since then, medical and behavioral research has been required to follow the regulations found in 45 CFR 46, “Protection of Human Subjects” in the Federal Code of Regulations under the Department of Health and Human Services. The code states that participants should not encounter greater risks during the course of research than they would in everyday life. Researchers are to protect the confidentiality of participants, and take steps to prevent disclosure of personal information that could damage one’s reputation or place them at risk of criminal or civil liability. The code appropriately protects participants from situations that would

compromise employability or damage a person's financial standing, but explicitly states in 46.111.a.2 that long-term effects of research are beyond its purview:

Risks to subjects are reasonable in relation to anticipated benefits, if any, to subjects, and the importance of the knowledge that may reasonably be expected to result. In evaluating risks and benefits, the IRB should consider only those risks and benefits that may result from the research (as distinguished from risks and benefits of therapies subjects would receive even if not participating in the research). The IRB should not consider possible long-range effects of applying knowledge gained in the research (for example, the possible effects of the research on public policy) as among those research risks that fall within the purview of its responsibility.

As this shows, the official institutional position does nothing to prevent research fatigue or provide direction for conducting engaged research.

The Common Rule in the United States identifies three populations that require additional protections during research: pregnant women and fetuses, prisoners, and children. These groups have a more limited capacity to decline participation in a study, or their risks may be greater than the general population. Unless the study directly relates to those populations and data cannot be collected in any other way, researchers are encouraged to identify other subjects. This is an upfront acknowledgement that these groups are more vulnerable than the average participant. In heavily researched communities, such as public housing, there are no such protections.

Resident Research Experience

Most of the resident leaders involved in *Residents' Voices* had extensive experience with researchers through academic studies or housing authority consultations. The regular presence of researchers and noted lack of change in their communities left them unenthusiastic about participating in studies and suspicious of academics. In short,

they were developing a combination of research fatigue and resistance as a result of living in fishbowl communities. Research fatigue, which occurs when “individuals and groups become tired of engaging with research and can be identified by...a refusal to engage with any further research,” is not a new concept to academics (Clark 2008:955-56). However, the majority of this academic work on the topic is from the perspective of researchers reflecting on their experiences in the field, rather than drawing on participants’ views (Clark 2008). The residents involved in this study did not simply withdraw from interactions with academics, but challenged researchers to be accountable to the populations they studied. Accountability includes returning findings to research participants and the people and organizations with whom they work, as disseminating findings to policymakers. Leaders wanted their participation in research to have some impact on their communities. This more active approach is research resistance.

Because one focus of *Residents’ Voices* was the nature and outcomes of research, I was able to have frank conversations with leaders about their experiences, both positive and negative. The following section examines resident perceptions about how academics use research. We discussed data collection, access to findings, financial reward, and the desire to be recognized as producers of knowledge. Some leaders consider research to be a relatively harmless nuisance, while others feel that the amount of time and emotional effort requested with little to no reward is nothing more than exploitation. Fortunately, leaders were willing to engage in discussions about a research project, provided they were able to dictate some of the terms. In a later section of this chapter, I introduce potential solutions to residents’ concerns.

Resident Perception of Research Agendas

Research can arouse suspicion for leaders who have witnessed numerous studies conducted in their communities. In most cases, research participants are introduced to a study at the point of data collection. By the time academic researchers appear in a community, the research questions have been defined, IRB approval obtained, and researchers are looking to prove established hypotheses. Most leaders felt that academics came into their neighborhoods in service of their own professional aspirations, and that once data collection was complete, researchers would never be seen again. Consultants hired by housing authorities were believed to have predetermined outcomes for which they were seeking community authorization. At an early meeting in Chicago, one resident, who did not remain involved in the project, said that her question was always “whose research and why?” Leaders raised a number of concerns based on previous research experience, ranging from the type of training academics receive before engaging with community members to data collection and the dissemination of findings. They noted how often visiting neighborhoods and learning about residents’ lives were presented as educational opportunities, rather than an avenue to become engaged in improving community conditions.

Leaders reported that they believed that most academics are not properly trained to understand the community perspective, and as a result, approach residents as though the researchers already have the answers. Jen described identifying this type of researcher in Airds:

We’ve learned to be bullshit detectors. For as long as I can remember, we have people come in. They’ve had the training, they’ve got the degrees. “We know

what's wrong and we came to fix it!" And it never worked. So instantly, somebody who comes in the area with that attitude we'll pick straight off.

She and others emphasized the importance of listening to community members rather than relying exclusively on literature or policy documents. It was not that they found such literature entirely devoid of merit, but they felt that applying it without considering the nuances of an individual community would not "fix" local problems.

Residents were surprisingly well-informed about the impact good data can have on an academic career. Francine listed prominent academics that had conducted research in her South Side neighborhood, and lamented that they had written articles and books that helped them achieve tenure, but never sufficiently acknowledged the role that participants played in their success. This was less a concern about knowledge ownership, which is discussed below, but more about sharing in the perceived spoils. Most leaders had clear, if incorrect assumptions about the amount of money that a researcher could make from a successful book. They also noted that academics were able to seek additional grant funding based on the strength of findings from their communities. While researchers enjoyed respect and admiration, residents were frustrated that they did not see any change in their personal opportunities for success and remained trapped in neglected communities.

The unequal role that residents played in data collection was another source of consternation. Francine spoke in great depth about a project that had recently been conducted with public housing residents that she represented. It was an evaluation of a specific program, commissioned by CHA. While paying research participants for their time is a controversial practice, in this case, she and other resident leaders had been asked

to help researchers with recruitment (Coy 2006). For her, it was the perfect example of how leaders are asked to perform research-related tasks for free, while others, frequently graduate students are paid.

You're on the ground doing your work getting paid, and you're not giving us a stipend to do what you need to do. We can help you, but I'm not fittin' to do this for free when you're getting paid. Why didn't you hire a resident? "Well, we didn't feel we needed to." But you did hire a person and now you want us to volunteer for free. I said, "no, we're not."

The expectation that resident leaders would support paid research staff "out of the goodness of our hearts" was demeaning. She felt it preyed on leaders' commitment to their communities.

Leaders noted that students are regularly brought into public housing, either to help collect data, or to see aspects of these communities up close. It is intrusive on two levels. The first is that it exoticizes residents. Charmaine suggested that focus groups and one-on-one conversations with residents are designed to give students "an eye-opening experience" in a new place that is essentially foreign to them. The second intrusion is on residents' time. Catherine spoke of the annual parade of architectural students from the University of New South Wales that came through her building. Each year, the students drew up plans for things such as improving the gardens and disabled access. She said they seemed to be productive, and they did show residents the drawings, but it was unclear if they were in any way connected to the work of previous classes. Furthermore, producing the drawings was one thing, "but how much influence they have with housing is yet another." They were primarily academic exercises for students that residents participated in year after year.

Data collection that is part of the consultation stage of a redevelopment process is as problematic to resident leaders as purely academic work. They fear that, through consultations, housing authorities are really collecting resident input simply to be able to say that they have resident support for their plans. In Sydney, where much of the research that residents have encountered in recent years is part of housing policy revisions and redevelopment consultations, this is particularly salient. For Ross, identifying the source of funding and the impetus for the research is crucial, “because by reading it, you know what they’re being paid to achieve.” Francine felt the same way about consultations in Chicago, saying “if you come to me with a draft, then you ain’t doing research. Your plan is already etched in stone. You may change the wording, but other than that, shit don’t change.” The last thing resident leaders want to do is contribute to a study that places their communities in further peril.

Dissemination of Findings and Data Access

Resident leaders are better positioned than most to maintain ties with researchers and obtain copies of articles, books, and reports produced from data collected in their communities. Yet across the board they reported that they rarely see findings from local studies, and that it is even more uncommon for researchers to return to the site to present findings to participants, regardless of whether they are academics or working at the behest of the housing authority. The consensus supports what Clark (2008) found when interviewing academics about research fatigue—over-researched people are more willing to engage in future research if they knew that their participation led to something.

Charmaine described the ideal research approach as one in which an academic engages residents in a variety of ways during, and after the process. In the end, she said

Even if the feedback is of no absolute use to the tenants, just the fact that they know that what they've contributed has been useful in some way is really valuable to them. And also I think it's really all about relationships, as is everything in life, I think.

Frequently participating in research that did not have any discernable impact on the community and resulted in no personal gain increased resident belief that they were being used to support academic careers.

Residents were particularly bothered by the lack of access to findings and data in cases where clear opportunities to design supports exist. Whitney participated in a study about the mental health of residents of her building in Chicago. The researchers never came back to report the findings, and to her knowledge no intervention came as a result of the study. She said it was a missed opportunity because “there are some sick motherfuckers here. People come visit their families and they're crazy, and until they sort that out, the same problems will happen.” The only redeeming aspects of that study were that participants were assured confidentiality, meaning that CHA could not use findings to take any action against residents, and that subjects were paid for their responses.

A theme that emerged repeatedly was that of language, and Ross and Jen both noted that academics and housing authority researchers rarely took the time to create reports in lay language that was more easily accessible to residents. Jen felt it was an excuse to not share findings with residents—“they like to keep it to themselves, you know. They don't think we can understand what they've done. If it's in their language, they just need to know how to interpret it for us.”

Knowledge Ownership

Academics take data they collect in the field and produce pieces—articles, books, presentations, etc.—based on their findings. In that process, the knowledge is regarded as being produced primarily by academics. They were the people who analyzed data and held it against an established theoretical framework. This raises questions about who produced the knowledge and can claim ownership. The fact is that it would be impossible for academics to conduct research without the cooperation of participants who share their lived experiences. Resident leaders are keenly aware of this, and are angry when academics secure jobs, promotion, and grants on the basis of their knowledge, while there is no impact for their communities.

Some residents have experience with academics who produce reports specifically for local communities. Ross spoke of how important resident knowledge is:

From a resident's side, the most accurate source of information is the resident. They have a surprising degree of knowledge of the needs of their community...Other professionals can tell you how their program was delivered, what the outcomes were of it, short fallings, how it complied with their original aims and objectives, but the best validator of anything, it comes back to the service recipient or the resident.

Failure to disseminate findings in the community goes hand-in-hand with claiming ownership of knowledge, according to Jen. "Come back and show us and tell us and credit us for what we've put in. You have organizations come in and they have these ideas and they listen to residents...they use the residents' ideas and get credit for 'em."

Failure to acknowledge the contributions of residents in producing academic works is seen as another institutional injustice against public housing communities. Knowledge is another resource that is stripped from residents who have little other

currency to use with outsiders. The clear power differential between academics and a vulnerable resident population complicates research participation. Some residents feel powerless to decline, while others want an opportunity to be heard by someone outside of the community. Resident leaders acknowledged that research was likely to continue in their communities regardless of their desire to participate, and wanted to establish ground rules for academics that could form the basis of a movement to resist exploitative research practices.

Residents' Research Bill of Rights

One of the most important things any resident said to me during the course of this project was “if we have to sign our waiver, why don’t you have to sign ours?” Francine made this request the first time we met, in a tense meeting that did not go at all as planned. In time, Francine became one of my closest friends and allies in the field, and worked with me and a small group of other residents in Chicago to sketch out the plans for resident protections in research. From the outset of the *Residents' Voices* project, it was clear that residents possessed a considerable amount of knowledge about the trajectory of an academic career, grant funding opportunities, and how the experiences of residents of their communities can become the basis of long and successful academic careers. By contrast, residents who are the subjects of this work receive little to no benefit from participating.

Clark suggests that the research fatigue can be addressed by “increasing opportunities for involvement within the research process by giving people more active roles in the production and analysis of data,” as well as improving dissemination plans

(2008:967). Others have reflected on the vulnerability that research can produce (Clark 2008; Harper et al. 2003,), but because we addressed it upfront, residents were able to request our commitment to sharing finished reports and exploring ways that they can benefit from what was produced. Conversations about this issue became the conceptual basis of the Residents' Research Bill of Rights, in which residents can assert some of their own terms for participating in research. Through the course of the project, residents spoke about their participation other research projects, how, in their view, some well-known works missed the real stories of their communities, and how resentful they are that others profit from their experiences while they and their neighborhoods continue to languish. In the following pages, I propose solutions for addressing power differentials between researchers and participants through research design, data collection and ownership, and dissemination. I also consider the practical and institutional hurdles to accountability.

Participant-Generated Consent Forms

As noted above, the initial request from CHA resident leaders involved in the *Residents' Voices* project was that members of the research team sign a resident-generated consent form. The idea was that such a document would allow research participants to clearly define their expectations from the research, as well as protect their own interests. Leaders were used to signing consent forms generated by universities, which inform them that researchers will do nothing to harm them, but do not provide space to suggest additional protections appropriate to their communities. A participant-generated consent form may be structured around a common community agenda for

research, or could be devised in response to specific types of research projects. In proposing topics for the Bill of Rights, leaders were most vocal about stipulations for data use and compensation. In some cases these were intertwined, in that leaders were less concerned about forms of data use that were unlikely to produce revenue for the researcher, such as presentations and journal articles, than they were about books, which have the potential for profit. Concerns about compensation revolved around both publication revenue and opportunities for residents to be hired as research support staff. Together, these issues speak to a desire to be meaningfully engaged and remain connected to findings.

A central component of the desired form was data use, over which residents wanted a measure of control. Working with residents in Chicago, I devised a list of potential uses, and we considered which might be suitable for upfront approval, and which would require further negotiation. The proposed check list of potential research uses fell into two broad categories: presentations and written works. Leaders offered general opinions on different aspects of data use, but this is an area that requires further discussion. Some uses of data were beyond the scope of most residents' experience, and a deeper understanding is necessary to create a clear and comprehensive consent form.

Residents were open to data being used in presentations, with value being placed on those given to community members and other housing stakeholders. This was undoubtedly tied to a desire to have findings disseminated to the research population, and had the underlying assumption that research would be favorable to residents and communicate their interests. The nature of academic conferences was more nebulous to

residents, so the small group working on the consent form considered those presentations acceptable. Academic conferences are more difficult for the public to access, often featuring expensive registration fees, but participation is an important marker of scholarly productivity. It is unclear how the group would have treated conferences if they considered them from that angle. Leaders in Australia were more familiar with the concept of conference presentations, with some having had experience with the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI). Rather than being resistant, however, they appreciated the opportunities they had to present at conferences themselves.

Written works that we discussed ranged from dissertations to grant applications. The initial concession that residents in Chicago made was that Lauren and I could use data collected during the project to write our dissertations, but for nothing else without approval. When it became clear that we wished to foster dialogue across geographies, they were interested in having their perspectives represented on the *Residents' Voices* website. Leaders were supportive of policy briefs, particularly if there was an accompanying plan to disseminate briefs to housing authority staff, social workers and other staff of non-profit organizations working with residents, and elected officials. Journal articles were regarded as innocuous, though like conference presentations, resident leaders who were angered by researchers advancing their careers on the basis of local knowledge underestimated the professional impact of publishing in a well-regarded journal.

Books were a particular source of contention for residents, and they requested to be consulted in the event that members of the research team planned to write one. As noted elsewhere, this stemmed from resentment over other books that had been written about their communities. Residents also wanted to be consulted over grant applications for future research. Their justification was that academics that base grant applications on prior research they have conducted with public housing residents would have less compelling proposals if they were not informed by their work in the community.

It was evident that perceived financial gain was an important determinant for whether or not residents wanted to be consulted. While very few academics become wealthy from the proceeds of their books, residents wanted to ensure that they would have access to any potential royalties. Likewise, future grant applications were seen as a possible source of support, not for individual residents, but for non-profit organizations or councils working with people in the community. The fact that research and programmatic grants generally come from different sources was not acknowledged, or perhaps even known by residents. Nevertheless, researchers demonstrating a willingness to seek approval from participants before publishing books or seeking additional funds is an interesting concept. It raises questions about whether findings could be compromised or research participants would push for them to be withheld when they show a community in a negative light. The purpose of a community-generated consent form should clearly not be for scholarly works to be held hostage by unsupportive participants, but to ensure that researchers communicate how they present findings.

No resident-generated consent form existed at the outset of this research, but I used a modified “Deed of Gift” agreement, which is commonly used for oral histories, as a substitute. The standard language in the document states that, once admitted to the Loyola archive, recordings and transcripts could be used without consultation for non-profit purposes, and for profit with written consent of the interviewee, his/her heirs, or the university when no heirs exist. Participants were able to select conditions under which their interviews and transcripts could be used. Nearly all chose the “other” option, and listed conditions of their own, including that they wished to be consulted before any use of the data that was not predetermined during the course of the project. Most also preferred that we use their real names, as they wanted to retain ownership of their own contributions in any literature we produced.

Conducting Resident-Oriented Research

A considerable amount of planning is required before researchers begin data collection. Practitioners of participatory action research are already oriented to designing studies that incorporate participant interests and goals, and it would be counterproductive to propose an alternative method here. PAR accepts that non-academics are capable of conducting their own research, that outsiders have a place as, among other things, conveners and facilitators, and that marginalized groups can be empowered (Cuthill 2010). Entrance into the field begins with the acknowledgement of PAR values and can be ongoing, requiring active relationship building and maintenance (Ochocka, Moorlag, and Janzen 2010). It accepted that it is advisable for a researcher to gain access through mutual networks or by clearly and deliberately involving community members at every

stage of research design and data collection (Mulligan and Nadarajah 2008). Given that participatory action research is well established, the issue of greater concern to residents is data collection.

There are a number of ways to more meaningfully engage research participants in data collection. Many leaders have been asked to identify study participants, often when other recruitment methods had failed. Because opposition to this type of participation is rooted in the fact that they are enlisted to help paid employees, residents asked that they be hired as support staff when possible. Though many aspects of data collection require specialized training and certification, paid positions may include recruitment and outreach efforts, office administrative support, and data entry. Hiring residents may lead to greater investment in individual research projects, improve relationships between academics and research participants, and build capacity that can be used in other community projects. It may also mitigate research resistance in that resident leaders who have participated in numerous studies can readily identify participants who have not had recent or negative experiences with academics.

Academics cannot be expected to train participants in data collection methods to the same degree that researchers are, but at least one resource exists that is designed to introduce community members to human research protections. The Center for Clinical and Translational Science at the University of Illinois at Chicago offers the CIRTification curriculum specifically for community academic partners who have limited research experience. The curriculum includes plain-language information about research ethics and conduct, and draws on real world examples to communicate the importance of

protecting research participants. Tools such as CIRTification, which is free on the university's website, both build capacity of community members to contribute to data collection and ensure proper protections required by institutional policies.

Joint Ownership of Data

Obtaining consent to collect data may be seen as a procedural hurdle for some researchers, but it presents much more complex problems for participants. Consent forms generally give ownership of data to the university, with the researcher retaining the right to use it however he or she sees fit. The relative power of a university-affiliated researcher compared to a study participant also creates a dynamic where it may be intimidating for participants to withhold consent, whether they agree with the process or not (Molyneux, Peshu & Marsh 2004). The Residents' Research Bill of Rights proposes that residents retain part ownership of the data they have co-produced with researchers.

The primary purpose of joint data ownership is to establish residents as knowledge holders and producers in their own right. If community-based researchers accept the expertise of community members during the research process and express a commitment to returning research findings to participants, the next step is to offer the same access to data for future use that researchers have. Furthermore, joint data ownership may secure the right to determine how data can be used as a secondary source for future studies.

Analysis and Dissemination

Resident requests following data collection were straightforward: to ensure that communities are not misrepresented in the course of data analysis, and that researchers

commit to disseminating findings to residents and other community stakeholders. Leaders did not expect, nor were they interested in, deep involvement in data analysis. Whether this is due to disengagement or a lack of understanding about the process needs to be explored further. Instead, they wished to be briefed on findings prior to publication to ensure that the general conclusions were recognizable based on their lived experience. As with other aspects of the Research Bill of Rights, this is a practice that engaged researchers already follow. The difference is that residents wanted to make it a requirement of all academics conducting research in in their communities.

Several leaders noted that lack of access to findings diminished residents' enthusiasm for ongoing participation in research, which is consistent with what others have found (Clark 2008). They called for local presentations and reports that communicate the findings in lay terms. However, in addition to translation of findings into common language in easily accessible formats, residents wanted to ensure that findings that are applicable to policy or service delivery be disseminated to the appropriate stakeholders. Research findings that can produce change at the local or national level should be shared with housing authorities and elected officials, while those that could improve social service access or provision should be shared with local non-profit organizations.

Many universities currently have research centers such as the Center for Urban Research and Learning that are outward-facing and produce reports for funders or other community partners. These centers are potential resources for academics wishing to incorporate broad dissemination into their research plans. Likewise, funders, particularly foundations, may have access to important audiences such as policymakers. Strong

relationships with funders may offer additional channels through which findings can be communicated. Dissemination to a variety of audiences could be a significant burden on academics without connections to these centers and organizations, and limited time and resources to produce multiple versions of findings are a threat to meeting this request.

Challenges for Academics

Challenging the status quo concerning promotion and tenure is a daunting task for even the most impassioned engaged sociologist because it requires buy-in from colleagues within and beyond the discipline, as well as university administration (Nyden, Hossfeld, and Nyden 2012). Zussman and Misra conclude that acting on Burawoy's (2005) call to public sociology "would require rethinking and remaking our relationship to the university, our relationship to other disciplines, the ways we train graduate students...and (not least) the way we practice politics. And these are no small matters" (2007:7). The additional trust- and relationship-building required for good engaged research takes considerable time and effort. Changing how such work is accepted within academic institutions also places serious demands on engaged researchers. Certainly for some, conducting traditional research, achieving tenure, and engaging in activism in their private lives is a more desirable course. Given that, adherence to the practices proposed in the Residents' Research Bill of Rights poses some significant challenges for academics.

Navigating IRB Approval

Encounters with the institutional review board are a small part of the broader context in which sociologists carry out the debate between engaged and traditional

research. While the argument is important to the discipline itself, and what it means to be a sociologist, it also happens within a higher education system that rewards traditional markers of academic and intellectual productivity. Researchers work in a variety of settings, including government, think tanks, and policy research centers, but this debate has the greatest ramifications within the halls of academia. How a research proposal that includes joint data ownership and allows academics to commit to following externally-defined research protections would fare in front of an institutional review board is unknown.

There is no question that the Protection of Human Subjects under the Code of Federal Regulations plays an important function in assuring that research participants are kept safe from harm. What it lacks, however, is a provision for research subjects to define additional protections that are relevant to their communities, and which may be unknown to researchers or IRB members prior to a study. “Minimal risk” in an individual study may become “major risk” when compounded with previous research participation. On the opposite end of the protection spectrum is the ability to identify research participants by name. The majority of resident leaders who participated in this study wanted to their real names used in works produced from the research. They were not only unthreatened by identification, but wanted credit for their ideas and contributions. We were able to produce a consent form that waived confidentiality, but this was likely because of CURL’s reputation and longstanding relationship with Loyola’s IRB. Allowances for participant-defined protections are unconventional and may not be accepted at the institutional level.

Time and Resources

The time required to develop strong relationships with community partners is another significant barrier for academic researchers. The complexities, and at times, uncertainties related to building collaborative partnerships do not always fit with the time constraints academics have to conduct publishable research or spend grant money. Though the *RV* team utilized existing networks and respected stakeholders to gain access, launching the project still required several months of relationship building and negotiation. Forming partnerships to conduct engaged research requires tremendous commitment, and if a researcher does not agree with the ideology behind that type of work, it is unlikely he or she will consider putting forth the additional effort.

Apart from relationship building, many of the provisions of included in the Research Bill of Rights are resource-intensive. Employing residents as members of the research team may require additional administrative work, office space, access to computers and other technology, and training. Translating research written for an academic audience into language suitable for dissemination to multiple other audiences, ranging from research participants to policymakers, demands not only time, but also editing, graphic design, and printing services. Community presentations to return findings to research populations require meeting space, audiovisual equipment, and refreshments. When grant-funding is limited and an academic's primary function is to contribute to the discipline's literature, the additional costs associated with participant-oriented research may be too significant to consider.

“Whose Research and Why?”

Just as residents are concerned about participating in research in service of someone else's agenda, the threat of research design and focus being dictated by participants could deter academics from studying certain populations altogether. This would be a tremendous loss for both academic literature and those communities. A look at the collaborative process reveals obvious points of contention for traditional researchers, who have been trained to follow rigorous and well-developed research protocols. Many academic researchers see no value in returning findings to research participants, much less recognizing applied or engaged research as equal to purely academic work.

As “experts” of relevant theory, it can be unpopular to suggest that a researcher should consult non-academics during the course of a project to ensure that it is on the right track. One may suggest that just as academics are able to provide new perspectives to local issues, local partners can provide new perspectives that are invisible to the researcher. Unfortunately, this is an argument that will continue to fall on deaf ears when it comes to discipline-focused academics, who privilege that form of knowledge over all others. Likewise, when tenure and promotion are at stake in the increasingly volatile climate of higher education, academics may choose to avoid the risky prospect of participant-oriented research.

A final tension between sociologists focused on the discipline and those who are engaged with broader audiences revolves around multiple definitions of whom and what sociologists are supposed to be. There seems to be considerable agreement that many

sociologists embark on that career path because it speaks to a set of personal values or experiences (Korgen, White, and White 2011; Burawoy 2005; Feagin 2001; Becker 1967, Mills 1959). However, that does not translate to consensus about what the role of the sociologist is and should be in society. Do we interweave political action and research or keep the discipline value-free and practice activism on the side? Is it a concern for sociology as a distinct and respected discipline and repository for knowledge that prevents traditional scholars from embracing engaged research, or does resistance come from a belief that we are the experts and our research can only be considered valid if deemed so by our peers? Early career academics are establishing their professional identities and may be hesitant to challenge the conception of what an academic “should” be, while senior researchers have likely achieved a comfortable balance, and reframing one’s professional identity may hold no allure.

Ability to Maintain Promises

During the course of this study, Cynthia, whose activism in Uptown contributed to federal legislation protecting affordable housing, became increasingly frustrated with what she perceived as a failure of academics to use research to create systemic change. Even for an action-oriented academic, “unfortunately, as researchers are all too aware, ‘change’ is not a consequence of research engagement” (Clark 2008:961). Most studies are not evaluations that are designed to measure the impact of a specific program or policy. Action plans that emerge from PAR projects represent a future phase on engagement, rather than immediately altering community conditions.

Residents' Voices, while productive in some ways, did not establish a robust cross-national communication network for residents, nor were we successful in conducting truly resident-led research, both of which were promised at the beginning of the project. On-going engagement as resources diminished was also challenging. All of these things could easily amount to another broken promise from a group of academics. The consequence of constraints that researchers face in translating findings to action is ongoing research fatigue for research participants and further disillusionment with the research process. Thus managing expectations about what research can and cannot accomplish in a community becomes another concern for academics, but one with no easy solution.

Resident Challenges

The Residents' Research Bill of Rights requires a movement on the part of community members and potential research participants. Without a common understanding of how to engage with researchers and when to refuse, it will continue to be easy for academics to sidestep residents who will demand more than a traditional research experience. The primary challenges that residents face in establishing ownership of and influence over research process in their communities are: holding academics accountable, research withdrawal, and the ability to establish a community research agenda.

Creating Accountability

As has been established, researchers have the institutional backing of universities, funders, and regulatory bodies, all of which privilege researchers as producers of

knowledge and authorities on what constitutes “minimal risk.” The Residents’ Research Bill of Rights proposes an arrangement in which participants identify sources of harm and weave their own protections into consent forms. The challenge is that while academics may agree to these provisions, there is no mechanism to hold them accountable if they fail to comply. The greatest currency that residents have is access to their communities, and they can work to prevent academics who have committed perceived injustices from returning to conduct future research. However, there is no structure within universities to censure academics who do not deliver on promises made to the community and taking legal action for breach of contract is economically unfeasible.

Establishing a Community Research Agenda

The resident leaders who participated in this study have considerable reach in their communities, but they do not have the ability to reach the entire resident population, nor the power to deter individuals from participating in research that does not follow their accepted approach. It is helpful for academics to have leaders’ support in gaining access to a site and identifying research participants, but not required.

Most residents that I observed at general tenant meetings attended because they had a specific, personal complaint that had not been resolved by other means. Leaders shared information about their broader efforts on behalf of all residents, but as many of them shared with me, few residents continued attending meetings once their issues had been addressed. The individual orientation that many residents have is not conducive to developing a community-level research agenda. Likewise, some leaders continuously

advocated prioritizing issues in their own developments rather than taking a whole-city approach. Getting to a place in which residents agree on what type of research to allow in their communities would require a level of mobilization that seems impossible at the present time.

Research Withdrawal

An empowered research population poses challenges to academics that could easily result in a withdrawal from conducting research in public housing communities. While this would reduce research fatigue, it also means that important information about how residents are experiencing policy implementation will be unknown. Long-term withdrawal of other types of resources led to the decline of public housing communities and the ability to develop a narrative that provided further justification for demolition and relocation of residents (Pfeiffer 2006). While research cannot provide all of the answers for public housing, nor quickly change community conditions, it is useful in developing potential solutions to local problems.

Conclusion

In 1959, when sociology was already firmly entrenched in the traditional methodologies that dominate the field, C. Wright Mills wrote that while he did not believe social science would save the world, he saw no harm in trying. He went on to ask “if there *are* any ways out of the crises of our period by means of intellect, is it not up to the social scientist to state them?” (Mills 1959:193). This question acknowledges that through our work, sociologists collect and produce knowledge that has implications well

beyond the discipline. The residents involved in this study argue that we have a responsibility to share it.

Sociologists committed to working collaboratively with communities are making some strides in creating spaces within the academy where it is acceptable to conduct engaged research. A great advantage to this type of research is that sociologists are able to use diverse methods and follow lines of inquiry that might have been missed without the alternative perspectives offered by locals and community partners for whom our intellectual “problems” are daily life. Far from weakening the discipline, these new insights may actually bolster the knowledge that we produce. Disseminating findings to broader publics and engaging them in dialogue can be accomplished without sacrificing methodological rigor and the distinctness of the discipline.

The concept of a Research Bill of Rights expands on existing action research methods and challenges what it means to be an academic, but there is much work to be done in identifying strategies for greater participant orientation and ownership. Apart from the potential roadblocks enumerated in the previous section, several questions remain. The biggest, perhaps is what happens to research when participants have a voice in how data is used and disseminated. It would be counterproductive to produce a model of joint ownership that brings research in marginalized communities to a halt because residents want to manage the perception of their communities. Academics have had years of training and perform the analysis, which may or may not present participants in a positive light, and concerns about reputation should not impede the release of studies that explore the challenges of public housing. The other question worthy of immediate

exploration is how universities and IRBs would adjust to research that allows participants to dictate some terms of engagement. Universities are slow to change and institutional representatives may be able to shed light on how participant expectations can be incorporated into approval processes.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Mixed-income housing policies are designed to profoundly transform urban spaces. They also irrevocably alter the relationship that public housing residents have with their communities and the institutions that are involved in managing them. Caught in the middle are resident leaders, who act as the voice of the community in redevelopment and work to negotiate a role in placemaking. This dissertation aims to shift the focus from resident outcomes and the effects of poverty deconcentration policies on specific communities to the way residents experience the process of transition. Though the leaders I spoke with in Chicago and Sydney are only a sample of the people engaged in this work, these findings encourage an ongoing examination of how active community members negotiate stigma and citizenship with new and old public housing stakeholders.

Preserving a Sense of Place

One of the driving forces behind resident leaders' work was the conviction that public housing residents had the right to live in the places to which they were most attached. For many public housing residents, their developments were their entire world, creating a strong sense of place and a desire to remain there. In communities where redevelopment had already occurred, leaders fought hard for the right to return, or residents moving into new units in their former communities. Leaders whose areas had

not yet been redevelopment, but were the subject of speculation and planning, expressed a desire to not only prevent resident relocation, but also to preserve a tenure mix that favored public housing.

Residents' sense of place was tied to both the built environment and the other people living in the community. Leaders noted that their neighbors cared about the buildings both as home and as the site where some of their strongest social bonds were formed. Through redevelopment, residents lose the physical structures and are often dispersed, causing disruption to their social networks. Leaders felt that separating people from their homes and their support networks at the same time bordered on inhumane, and wanted other stakeholders to take that into consideration during redevelopment planning.

Incidents of violence and crime in public housing communities do little to challenge place attachment for many residents, and, in fact, well-developed local knowledge about the nature of crime in one's neighborhood actually contributed to greater feelings of safety. Moving to other neighborhoods produced anxiety for some residents, and not without cause; several residents I encountered had been victimized or lost family members to violence after being relocated. There was a wide-spread perception that both CHA and HNSW and police in both cities were unresponsive to complaints about crime in public housing. As a result, people felt more comfortable and more attached to areas where they knew the landscape. Leaders felt that the incidence of crime was an institutional failure, but noted that residents bore the responsibility and the stigma.

Experiencing Territorial Stigmatization

Public housing residents are not the only people who make their attachment to place meaningful in their lives. Outsiders, including representatives from public housing authorities and private developers, homeowners, and private management firms, make it clear that residents will continue to be associated with traditional public housing for some time. Territorial stigmatization is a central aspect of resident experience, which leaders attempt to harness. The “blemish of place” becomes associated with individuals and assumptions about their behaviors as they move through the world. Resident leaders acknowledge that some public housing residents conduct themselves in accordance with the stigma associated with their sites, but maintain that the state of their communities is owed primarily to willful neglect on the part of the housing authority.

Leaders weave negative narratives about their communities into their efforts to claim space. They note that residents engage in certain behaviors to both highlight the absurdity of a broad cultural argument, and to clarify that though an activity may not be sanctioned or accepted by middle class newcomers to their communities, it is likely not an indicator of future criminal behavior. Still, despite the best efforts of leaders to reframe their communities, negative narratives continued to produce an “us and them” dynamic among both different groups of public housing tenants and between residents and higher income owners and renters.

Transitioning to Territorial Embodiment

Perhaps the most important concept to emerge from this study was territorial embodiment. Here I build on territorial stigmatization and explore what happens to place-

based stigma when the origin of the stigma, in this case public housing developments, cease to exist in material form. I argue that the territorial stigma associated with public housing was so strong that it cannot be easily undone by redevelopment. While communities may be remade and recast with the construction of a new built environment, the introduction of higher-income neighbors, and improved access to public and private amenities, public housing tenants continue to be identified as such. The stigma of the former communities transcends place and attaches to a group of people instead.

Resident leaders, particularly in Chicago, discussed how unprepared many residents are for life in mixed-income communities. In addition to being geographically separated from their support networks, they also lack sufficient preparation to maintain employment and adhere to the many rules and regulations often present in mixed-income communities. The problem, according to leaders, is that public housing residents are expected to be better residents and better citizens than their unsubsidized neighbors, but do not have the tools to do so. Any negative behavior that residents engage in while living in new communities only reinforces that public housing tenants are as flawed as their former communities.

In sites with an income mix, leaders say it is obvious to differentiate between people of different tenure statuses. Differences range from quality and size of units to access to site amenities and governance structures. Leaders in both cities acknowledge the ongoing stigma associated with public housing and take steps where they can to change the story. This is achieved through participating in public events or community building activities such as picnics or parades. In Chicago, however, leaders have

extremely limited access to mixed-income sites, and can do little advocacy on behalf of residents of those communities.

Consumer Citizenship and Resident Leadership

Resident leaders followed different paths to becoming community advocates, but the common thread is that they continue to do it because they love their communities and believe that low income people have rights to their homes. There is little material reward, and the demands of the position mean that most people are unable to also hold paid employment. The transition from traditional public housing to mixed-income development has significant implications for the way they do their work, and the people and institutions with whom they are required to engage. Where once they could direct their efforts toward the state housing authorities, mixed income housing has introduced a variety of new stakeholders with which they need to negotiate.

Despite the many changes that public housing has undergone in the last decade and a half, the way that resident leaders collect and disseminate information remains largely the same. They utilize formal meetings and virtual platforms to some extent, but are still heavily reliant on the informal encounters presented in everyday life. As public housing is demolished and residents are increasingly dispersed to different geographic locations, this mode has become problematic. Due to the early stage of redevelopment in some areas of Sydney, leaders are still able to use this method of information-sharing, and those who cannot have incorporated email, Facebook, websites, and other online tools to maintain contact. In Chicago, leaders primarily represent large geographic areas with a range of housing, including scattered site, but have not transitioned to new

methods of communication. Chicago leaders are well-known in the community, so people do continue to approach them in public spaces, but the power of chance encounters as a mechanism to share information is dwindling.

The method by which resident leaders share information is not the only strategy that needs to be revised as public housing undergoes a transition. Though private developers and other stakeholders have become instrumental actors in public housing communities, leaders continue to direct their efforts toward public housing authorities, who have diminishing control over what happens during redevelopment. Furthermore, residents based their arguments on their rights to housing and government provision. As citizenship has transitioned to being something solely bestowed by the state to something that is informed by one's market position, access to certain facets of it have become limited. Leaders need to expand their appeals to private sector actors, on the basis that they are highly civically engaged.

The Future of Resident Leadership

Resident leaders are an aging group, most of whom have represented their communities for decades. Though they acknowledge the need to recruit and engage a next generation of representatives, leaders had difficult identifying potential candidates. The majority of residents who attended meetings or interacted with CHA and HNSW did so in order to resolve an individual problem, and disappeared afterwards. Leaders were troubled by outlook for the future, and worried that important historical knowledge would be lost, leading to lack of housing authority accountability to tenants. Some suggested that a communications campaign aimed at raising awareness about loss of units and other

issues would spark interest from younger residents, but as a whole, leaders were not optimistic.

The future of resident leadership was also challenged by people remaining in leadership positions for too long. For many leaders, it is the first and perhaps only position of power they have occupied, and remaining in the position is alluring. Leaders who voiced this concern felt that people unwilling to relinquish power preferred to control the community dialogue about public housing and its redevelopment. The ability to attract new leadership is likely the difference between a lasting legacy of community representation and its disappearance.

Implications for Research Practice

One of *Residents' Voices'* objectives was to conduct resident-led research, in which public housing tenants identified problems for investigation and contributed to data collection efforts. While the project was participatory, it did not transcend that and become truly resident-led. In its failure to do so, I learned a considerable amount about how research is viewed among over-researched populations, and explored ways to challenge the accepted models of both traditional and community-based research.

There were early challenges from leaders in Chicago about the research team's desire to conduct even a participatory research project. Upfront conversations about a desire to conduct research "differently," on behalf of residents were poorly received, with residents wanting our team to adhere to their code of conduct while working in the community. I worked with residents to create a Research Bill of Rights, in which residents could establish ownership of aspects of the project and retain the right to

prevent data from being used in particular ways. On the surface, the desire for such an agreement appeared to be a way to prevent academics involved in this study from making financial gains, but deeper conversations revealed that many residents were suffering from research fatigue. They wanted to protect both potential financial interests, and their own emotional well-being, as well as have the ability to claim their own knowledge. Residents also wanted to create provisions for providing input during data analysis, and, more importantly, to demand access to research findings.

The suggestions that residents made were not challenging to a community-oriented research team so much as interesting from an institutional perspective. University research is set up so that the school retains ownership of data. The academic track of tenure and promotion is dependent largely on publication in well-respected journals, and the productivity demands leave little time for producing findings twice: once for academic audiences, and once translated into practical language for research participants. Given the constraints of conducting community-based research within an institutional setting, this emerged as fertile ground for future investigation.

Future Research

There are a number of directions that future research related to this study could go. Mixed-income housing policies will continue to be implemented internationally; indeed, CHA's Plan Forward and the Airds Bradbury Renewal Project indicate that both Chicago and Sydney will continue to experience the replacement of traditional public housing. An immediate follow up to this research would be to engage more resident

leaders, including seeking out those who exist separately from resident representation structures.

The citizenship issues that emerged during this study were particularly interesting to me because of the paradox that they created. Under neoliberalism, one's position in the market is an important aspect of citizenship. It does not always follow that individuals with full citizenship status engage in meaningful civic participation projects. By contrast, resident leaders show that people who do not have a great deal of political or economic power can be highly committed and invaluable to urban placemaking. Though leaders' tactics may presently be misdirected toward state actors, it would be worth investigating whether there are avenues by which decision-making flexible citizens can authenticate the full citizenship of highly engaged durable citizens.

The implications for research practice that emerged from this study call for further investigation into how community-based participatory researchers structure their responsiveness to community members and the ways in which their institutions respond to this type of work. It is important to identify instances in which potential research participants are able to dictate some of the terms of research and methods by which they hold academics accountable. This would build on a broad existing literature about CBPR, PAR and other forms of engaged research by moving beyond the actions of researchers and their supporting institutions.

Final Thoughts

All of the issues with public housing redevelopment exist within a broader context of retrenchment, and the future of people living in poverty is by no means secure. It has

been decades since public housing has been seen as a safe, decent, affordable option for families trying to gain a foothold or move toward private rental or homeownership. The privatization of public housing has signaled that governments want to get out of the business of housing poor people. Former public housing sites uniformly exhibit a net loss of public housing units when they are redeveloped, but lengthy waiting list times remain. At some point, CHA will have redeveloped all of its properties and run out of scattered site options. Likewise, HNSW will exhaust their options to relocate residents to traditional public housing estates. Resident populations continue to be marked by higher than average instances of debilitating illness, substance abuse, and mental health issues that prevent people from ever becoming self-sufficient. If the public housing system collapses entirely in either of these countries, there are no mechanisms to prevent these individuals from becoming homeless, which is an entirely other burden for the state. The ongoing work of resident leaders in both Chicago and Sydney demonstrates that there is power to harness in these communities. If public and private public housing stakeholders can work with leaders to create meaningful spaces for engagement and acknowledge the value and expertise of low income individuals, there may yet be an opportunity to create more equitable cities in both the United States and Australia.

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VITA

Kimberlee Guenther was born and raised in suburban Chicago, Illinois. Before attending Loyola University Chicago, she attended the University of Illinois at Chicago, where she earned a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology in 2000. From 2000 to 2002, she attended the University of Connecticut, where she received a Master of Arts in Sociology. Kimberlee coordinated film festivals and events at Facets Multimedia in Chicago from 2002 to 2006. From 2006 to 2008, Kimberlee conducted community-based urban research at the Center for Cultural Understanding and Change at The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago.

While at Loyola, Kimberlee was the inaugural recipient of The Graduate School's Dean's Fellowship, an award to fund scholarly work that is connected to the public good. Kimberlee served a portion of this fellowship as a Graduate Assistant at the Center for Urban Research and Learning. In 2010, Kimberlee was inducted into the Jesuit honor society, Alpha Sigma Nu. She received The Graduate School's Civic Engagement to Promote Social Justice Award in 2013.

Currently, Kimberlee serves as Director of Outcomes and Measurement at United Way of Metropolitan Chicago. She lives in Chicago, Illinois.

